OUTLINE OF HISTORY FOR THE GRADES

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HISTORY FOR GRADED AND DISTRICT SCHOOLS

By ELLWOOD WADSWORTH KEMP

Head of Department of History, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind.

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A SYSTEMATIC course of history for children from six to fifteen years of age. The book may be used by teachers as a guide or by pupils as a text. It is based upon the great fact that American history is an outgrowth of the past, and, to be thoroughly understood, must be studied in connection with the history of other countries.

AN OUTLINE OF HISTORY FOR THE GRADES

BY

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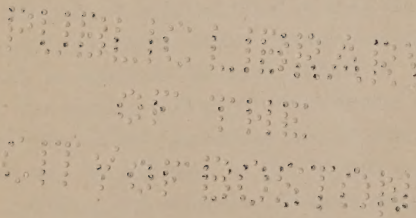

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PREFACE

The aim of this outline is to present the connected threads and principles which the author has worked out in detailed form for children in *A History for Graded and District Schools.*

Two chief ends have been aimed at: first, to present a plan of work which will, if followed by the teacher, tend to develop in her mind a real sense of history, — of its growth and unity; second, to suggest such material for the use of pupils as will tend to develop in their minds the true historic sense and lift them from grade to grade into ever wider and richer historical views.

The outline is based upon the idea that pupils in history should be led to feel and participate in the life of the people they are studying, — feel the problems of daily living which confronted them and strive to solve them.

Like all outlines, it must be filled in with material drawn from books, pictures, maps, stories, poems, and other illustrative material, in order to be made effective. It is simply a skeleton; the teacher and pupil must clothe it with flesh, and breathe into it the pulsating life of history. To aid toward this end, in addition to the history of which this book is an outline, a list of books has been suggested at the close of the outline of work for each grade. In making these lists care has been taken to give teachers such information as will enable them easily to judge something of the nature and fitness of each book for their particular needs. It is hoped the lists will materially aid in teaching both pupils

and teachers the use of books, and tend to give an impulse toward historical libraries in schools.

In the gradual development and preparation of this book during several years past I have received invaluable help and suggestion on the first-grade work from Miss Elizabeth Beal, primary supervisor of Terre Haute city schools, and Miss Belle Caffe, critic teacher, primary grade, Training School, Indiana State Normal School. I am greatly indebted also to Professor Albert R. Charman, Professor of Methods, Observation, and Practice, Indiana State Normal School, for valuable suggestions as to amount, character, and arrangement of matter for the book and for a critical reading of the manuscript. To Professor Arthur Cunningham, Librarian of the Indiana State Normal School, I am greatly indebted for very efficient and sympathetic assistance in the preparation of the bibliographical lists at the end of each grade. I am also under great obligation to Professor William O. Lynch, Assistant Professor in History, Indiana State Normal School, for valuable suggestions and assistance in providing original illustrative material for the Eighth-Grade Work.

ELLWOOD W. KEMP

Terre Haute, Indiana

CONTENTS

PAGE

AIM OF THE OUTLINE AND SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS. . . . 1

OUTLINE OF THE FIRST-GRADE WORK 11

The Primitive Aryan 14
I. In Nomadic stage 14
II. In agricultural stage 22

OUTLINE OF THE SECOND-GRADE WORK 32

I. Life of the Egyptians 33
II. Story of the Hebrews 36
III. Story of the Phœnicians 39
IV. Story about Books 42

OUTLINE OF THE THIRD-GRADE WORK 48

The Geography of Greece 49
The Development of Greece 52
I. Greece in her infancy (previous to 776 B.C.). 52
II. Greece in her youth (about 500–480 B.C.) 53
III. Greece in her beauty and prime of life (about 480–430 B.C.) 55
IV. Greece in old age (about 300 B.C.) 59

OUTLINE OF THE FOURTH-GRADE WORK 69

The Development of Rome 70
I. The Geography of Italy 70
II. Rome in her infancy (about 753–450 B.C.) 72
III. Rome between infancy and manhood (about 450–264 B.C) 75
IV. The struggle between Rome and Carthage (264–146 B.C.) 76
V. The decay and fall of Rome (about 150 B.C.–476 A.D.) . 79

OUTLINE OF THE FIFTH-GRADE WORK 87

The Development of the Teutonic Race 87
I. The life of the early Teuton in the woods (about 450, to Charlemagne, 800 A.D.) 87

PAGE

II. The life of the early Teuton in the church (about 450–1100 A.D.) 91
III. The life of the early Teuton in the castle (about 450–1100 A.D.) 97

OUTLINE OF THE SIXTH-GRADE WORK 107

The Struggle between the Teutonic and the Roman Worlds for Mastery in Europe 107
I. The Crusades (about 1100–1300 A.D.) 107
II. The Renaissance (about 1300–1500 A.D.) 112
III. The growth of English institutions and especially the growth of the English Parliament (about 450 A.D. down to the present time) 117
IV. The Reformation (about 1517 to the present time) . . 146

OUTLINE OF THE SEVENTH-GRADE WORK 159

The Crossing of the stream of liberty from Europe to America and its growth under new environment 160
I. The Development of the three chief streams of institutions 160
II. The struggle and final triumph of the American colonies to establish the Teutonic principle, the right of local self-government, 1763–1783 178
III. The balancing in a written constitution of the two principles of government, local and central, 1783–1789 . 180

OUTLINE OF THE EIGHTH-GRADE WORK 192

The Planting, Rooting, and Fruitage of American Nationality 192
I. The founding, both on sea and land, of American nationality (1789–1830) 192
II. The testing of American nationality (1830–1865) . . 216
III. The fruitage of American nationality (1865–1909) . . 256

APPENDIX 267

Magna Charta (1215) 267
Petition of Right (1628) 280
The Bill of Rights (1689) 289
Declaration of Independence (1776) 294
The Articles of Confederation (1781) 301
The Ordinance of 1787 314
The Constitution of the United States (1789) 324

INDEX 349

AN OUTLINE OF HISTORY FOR THE GRADES

AIM OF THE OUTLINE AND SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

THE GENERAL PLAN

The general aim of the course in history suggested by this outline is to hint such material and such methods of work to the teacher as will enable her to make the past live and move and have its being in the present, through the thought, the imagination, and resolution which she imparts through the history work to her pupils. The aim is to help pupils to see and live with the people as they have struggled and lived from early time down to the present, —from the early sources of the historic stream back in the Nile, the Tigro-Euphrates, and the Indus valleys, and then see it ever grow wider and deeper as it moves westward. The Hamite in the Nile valley perhaps first started the historic stream; the Semite in the Tigro-Euphrates valley and in the margin of coast land lying just at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea enlarged and enriched it; but both of these great branches of the white race lived, gave the early seeds of civilization to the world, and died. It is the Aryan race alone which from the earliest

ages, largely through speech and much less through any pure race in blood, has been a living force in history.

The Aryan race is the great historic race; that is to say, it is the race which, from a very early date in history to the present time, has been continuously and most successfully winning higher view points of the true dignity and worth of man. It is the race which has been ever struggling upwards to higher and higher scientific heights; it did not originate but it has developed the religion — Christianity — which has been most powerful in molding the destinies of mankind; it is the parent race of political liberty, and has far surpassed all other races in establishing those just principles of law and government by which all are given an equal opportunity to make the most and best of themselves; it is the root stem out of which has budded and blossomed the social and moral beauty of woman, and established the greatest bulwark of society — the home; it is the race which has pushed forward with most courage the conquest of nature, subduing its forces to man's use, and, through the invention of machinery, moving forward from the arduous labor of the early ages of the sickle, and the forked stick for a plow, to the present age of rapidly increasing leisure gained through the abounding service which we are now able to coax Mother Nature to perform for us.

The Aryan race is the institution-making race. In the five thousand years of its historic development, from its early homes on the Russian steppes and in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges down to the present day, and over the western world, it has been able to weave its growing thoughts and feelings and actions into an ever richer pattern of social, intellectual, religious, political, and industrial life.

The plan of this course in history contemplates chiefly the study of the origin and historic development of the

Aryan race in all of the grades except the second. It seeks to trace the Aryan spirit of civilization as it has been borne forward and enriched, both by forces within and without, first by the Egyptians, then by the Semite of the Tigro-Euphrates valley, then by the Phœnicians and the Jews, then by the Greeks, then by the Romans, then by the Teutons (especially by the Anglo-Saxon branch); and finally, having followed this most historic of all race stocks from root to bud, and from bud to blossom, the pupil is prepared to see its present fruitage in more perfect form in the institutions of his own country. By thus widening and lengthening and deepening the view of the pupil, so that he may see other ages and other countries than his own, he is all the more able to estimate and appreciate his own time and render true service to his own country; or, to state it differently, it should be the ideal of the true teacher of history to make his pupils the contemporaries of all ages and the citizens of every country, that they may thus be equipped with such historical wisdom as will render them the truest servants of their own time and country. The pupil who is to derive from history what it really ought to give him, and what it will not fail to give him if skillfully presented, must be given a clear, open-eyed vision of past times and a sympathetic appreciation of the fact that the whole world of the past has been a workshop for experiment and toil, and failure and triumph, — each generation adding a few new ideas to the accumulation of all the past, — and that all of this has been done for him. It is by the gradual development of these and kindred ideas in the minds of children, that they come to grasp the spirit, life, and plan of history, and to desire themselves "to take a place in the foremost files of time" and add something to the historical life of their neighborhood, or church, or township, or state, or country, or perhaps of the world.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS OF HISTORY

1. General preparation necessary before coming to the class, assuming that the teacher already has a good knowledge of the facts of the subject.

First, fix clearly in mind the central idea in history, which may be stated as follows: man's institutional progress toward freedom as shown in the institutions of home, school, business, polite society, church, and state.

Second, see the consequent nature of a fact in history to be (1) a certain condition of mind in the people; (2) an outward act or event; (3) a resultant change in the life of the people, coming from the event.

Third, have in mind the order and selection of events which will best show the growth or decay of the institutional life of the people studied.

2. Special steps to be taken in teaching any particular event.

First, select an event which will best show the spirit of the age being studied; for example, the burning of witches in New England.

Second, decide whether the event most reveals the life of the family, the system of education, the field of business, the manners and customs of social life, the ideas of religion, or the province of government.

Third, see the connection of the event with the general historical movement being studied, that is, trace the idea in the past from which it has grown. Into what ideas may we expect it to grow in the future? What was the condition of the minds of the people just prior to the event? In what phases does the event show itself? What modification did the event make in the thought of the people?

Fourth, under each of these questions select points appropriate to the age and development of the pupils. Decide

which should receive the most emphasis, and determine the order in which they should be presented.

Fifth, decide upon the way in which these points should be presented to the class, whether by story from the teacher, by reference to books which the children can read, by questions which show enough of the facts to lead the children to think out the remainder, or by a combination of these methods.

3. Steps to be taken with the children in class.

First, lead the children to see that men express themselves in many ways, for example, in the institutions, fine and liberal arts, and language.

Second, lead them to understand that in the study of history they are to see how man expresses himself in the institutions of the family, education, industry, society, religion, and government for the sake of more individual freedom and more perfect union of his life with the life of all mankind.

Third, gradually help the children to see the whole round of an event as it actually occurred, and thus lead them to see what it means to give a full account of any historical event; i.e. that any historical event comprises the mental state of the people before the event, the outward act or event, and a mental state succeeding or on account of the act. In the lower grades the children may acquire this unconsciously if the work is systematically presented by the teacher. In the upper grades they will gradually grow to see and tell the points explicitly. The point that it is desired to emphasize is that children do not derive the value they should from the study of history by simply describing what happened at any given time or place; they should think along with the people they are studying, meeting and solving their problems and making their struggles for greater freedom.

Fourth, let the children see the unity of history through the teacher's mode of presenting it, so that the subject will

appear to be a continuous whole rather than a series of isolated facts, in order that the children may come more and more to see and feel, as they advance in the work, that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs." Let each new movement studied be seen to grow out of that which precedes, and shadow forth that which follows. Compare events in the lower grades with similar events in United States history (in so far as the children are able), to see the stage of growth or decay of the institutions or events being studied.

Fifth, let the means employed be such as will correspond to the children's stage of development. Some devices which have proved successful are the following.

1. **The story.** In the story the work is presented by the teacher in simple story form, asking questions from time to time to see if the children understand it. At a subsequent lesson in grades above the third a written assignment is placed before the children, with questions directing their minds along the lines in which the teacher wishes them to think. In the recitation the teacher has the points of her story she wishes emphasized, reproduced. The teacher then continues the history story, connecting with the last story and closing at a point which will hint something to follow. This manner of teaching is especially adapted to the lower grades, and may be employed with advantage as high as the fifth grade, or even in the higher grades when access cannot be had by the children to reference books on the points.

2. **References.** In grades where the children can read with facility the history work may be prepared in great part by use of the written assignment on the board. When this is done the teacher should gradually train children in the use of references. Reference books may be successfully used in all grades beginning with the third. At first reference should be made to the exact page and paragraph.

Children in the advanced grades should be taught to use the index, table of contents, maps, encyclopedias, and dictionaries.

3. **Written work.** A great deal of repetition is necessary in order to render the history work effective. A valuable aid for accomplishing this is the written papers prepared by the children on each point worked out in class, writing them either as the class worked them out, or with original illustrations; the principle involved is, "Reading maketh a full man; conversation a ready man; and writing an exact man." A history notebook renders the work more definite and interesting by copying in it the class papers prepared on the work and keeping record of points not written upon. The written work should be illustrated by pictures and maps, either drawn with pen or cut from books. The children should be helped to make objects to illustrate things they study about; for example, the early plow, grist mill, spindle, altar, boat, pyramid, etc.

4. **Pictures.** The history work is greatly strengthened by the use of pictures illustrating the ideas presented, since they render the material concrete. It will be found helpful to decorate the room so as to make it illustrative of the work of that particular grade, a part of it therefore being historical. The value of this is, that when the child raises his eyes from his book his glance falls upon something in the room which will help retain his line of thought, instead of on something which will divert his attention. By the teacher's placing in the room pictures representing the various events, customs, occupations, and dress of the people being studied, and directing attention to illustrations in books, the children are led to search at home for pictures to bring to school. They may find a great many in papers and old magazines, the larger of which may be cut out and mounted for the schoolroom, the smaller ones pasted in the history notebook.

5. **Maps.** Since an understanding of the geography of a country is absolutely essential to a correct understanding of the history of its people, free and continual use should be made of maps and geographical atlases in the study period and during recitation. The use of the map, and drawing upon the blackboard, should accompany every lesson as it is being discussed. The children should stand at the map and explain from it whenever the work is such as to require it. They should draw maps of the most important portion of country connected with their history work, which, after being perfected, should be neatly copied in the history notebook.

6. **Other subjects.** Since the children are to experience as fully as possible the life of the race at the time they are studying it, they should be taught the ideal life of the people as revealed in their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature. They may do this by making a careful study of one good example of the architecture, the sculpture, and the painting produced at that time, and may gain further knowledge from pictures. They should have for one phase of their drawing and painting historical subjects, as Webster addressing the Senate or Lincoln freeing the slaves. The children should sing some of the music and should read how it came to be written. They may use for their regular literature work the selections written at the period of history under discussion, which of course reflect the spirit of the age in which they were written. It will be found profitable to select language and grammar sentences from history and literature; also to assign historical subjects for narration and description in composition work.

7. **Outside work.** The history is made more concrete, more interesting, by choosing historical stories for a part of the children's home reading; for example, selections

from Henty and Scott for fifth and sixth grades, *Hugh Wynne* and *Janice Meredith* for the seventh, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for the eighth. The children will gradually so appreciate this that they will select of their own accord books which help in the history work, and will bring them to school for others to read. They will thus bring to class much richer ideas on the points discussed. They may be led so fully into sympathy with the peoples they study that their games at recess sometimes become the games of Persian, Greek, Roman, Saxon warrior, or chivalrous knight.

To lead the children into the thought of any people before and after any particular event they are studying, is the hardest part in teaching an event. Let the children see that they themselves think before they act, and that they are not the same after they have performed some particular act as they were before. They will know that the same is true of any people. The way the children know what the people were thinking is by what the people did. So they study an event, and then infer the people's thought from the event. They then study the people's next act on that question, to know what they thought before they acted the second time; that is, what they thought during and after their first act. By studying these three things the children know a whole fact in history, which is: (1) a people's thought on a certain question; (2) their outward action on account of that way of thinking; (3) their changed thought because of the act they had performed. For example, suppose the teacher is teaching in the seventh grade the history of the Constitutional Convention. For the pupil to enter into that time and really understand it, he must be led to think and feel as the framers of the Constitution thought and felt, and must have the same view of the value of their actions that the people of that day had.

In other words, he must see the distressed conditions of the country at and before the time of the meeting, and see how the people thought about it; then he must go to the Convention and sit out, in imagination, the hot summer of '87 with the framers of the Constitution, and discuss and compromise till the Constitution is agreed to; then he must see what this grows into, that is, the result. Good history work does not consist in simply telling about things which have happened; it consists in leading pupils to realize and live over again the life which is being studied, and in having their own lives enlightened, enriched, and transformed thereby.

OUTLINE OF THE FIRST-GRADE WORK

The aim of the first-grade work is to help children to see and live, in imagination, the life of the early Aryan people, or that portion of it which was lived on the Volga and Danube rivers when they were taking their first infantile steps in civilization, namely, from the life of a nomad to that of a simple tiller of the soil. Scholars of high authority place the time of the beginning of this life at five or six thousand years before Christ (see *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 339). This primitive life as exhibited in early Aryan time may also be profitably compared with early Indian life as exhibited in North America.

The primitive Aryan.

I. In nomadic stage.
   1. Location.
   2. Characteristics of the country in which they lived.
      a. Contour.
      b. Rivers.
      c. Soil.
      d. Climate.
      e. Vegetation.
      f. Animal life.
   3. Institutional life.
      a. Home life.
         (1) Organization of the family.
         (2) Houses.
            (*a*) Wagons.
               1′. Construction of.

(*b*) Underground houses.
1′. Construction at first.
2′. Stages of development.
(3) Food.
(*a*) Kinds.
1′. Animal.
2′. Vegetable.
3′. Salt.
4′. Mead.
5′. Method of preparation.
(4) Fire: how made; where placed in the house.
(5) Clothing.
(*a*) Material.
(*b*) How worn.
b. Industrial life.
(1) Cattle raising.
(*a*) Importance of.
(*b*) Care of cattle.
(*c*) Effect on life and thought of the people.
1′. In causing them to change their locality frequently.
2′. How they told directions during their travels.
3′. On methods of reckoning time.
4′. On number.
5′. Relation to hunting and agriculture.
(2) Manufacturing.
(*a*) Pottery.
1′. How molded.
2′. Decoration of.
3′. How burned.
(*b*) Cloth.
1′. Process of making.
2′. Kinds of.

(*c*) Leather: making of; use of.
(*d*) Weapons.

(3) Trade.
(*a*) Articles exchanged.
(*b*) Dumb barter.
(*c*) Routes of travel.

c. Religion.
(1) Powers worshiped.
(2) Priests and ceremonies.

II. In agricultural stage.

1. In Europe.
a. Location.
b. Characteristics of the country.
(1) Contour.
(2) Rivers.
(3) Soil.
(4) Climate.
(5) Vegetation.
(6) Animal life.
c. Institutional life.
(1) Improvement in home life.
(*a*) Organization of the family.
(*b*) Houses.
(*c*) Food.
(*d*) Clothing.

(2) Industrial life.
(*a*) Cattle raising.
(*b*) Farming.
1′. Plants cultivated.
2′. Plow.

3′. Harrow.
4′. Sickle.
5′. Thrashing.
6′. Fences.

(*c*) Manufacturing.
1′. Pottery.
2′. Cloth.
3′. Flour.
4′. Weapons.

(*d*) Trade.
1′. Fairs. Why they gave up dumb barter.
2′. Guest friendship.

(3) Religion.
(*a*) Powers worshiped.
(*b*) Priests and ceremonies.
(*c*) Relation to superstition.

2. In eastern Iran.
3. In India.

Behind the idol is ever the promise of a higher religion.
LOWELL

THE PRIMITIVE ARYAN

I. IN NOMADIC STAGE

1. Location. Scattered over wide extent of southern Russia, on both sides of the Volga. Did not reach the Caspian, probably because of the barrenness of the lower course of the Volga.

2. Characteristics of the country in which they lived.

a. Contour. Country appears flat, but there are numerous dry trenches cutting the plain. Low wooded hills on the north.

b. Rivers. Abundant. Shallows in all, allowing fording. Volga, the largest.

c. Soil. Fertile, but matted densely with grass.

d. Climate. Two seasons only: winter six months long, very cold, stormy, with much snow; summer very hot. Abrupt transitions of seasons.

e. Vegetation. Abundant grass. Wild grain, as wheat, barley, and millet. Thorn bushes, reeds nine to thirteen feet high, rushes, shining white birch trees, willows, and wild fruit trees, as cornel, cherry, apple, pear, and plum, growing along the banks of the stream.

f. Animal life. (1) Wild. Wolf, wild boar, polecat, mouse, hare, otter, beaver. Probably occasional incursions of the bear from wooded hills on the north, occasioning great terror. Many snakes, tortoises, and "crablike creatures." They knew the eagle and probably the felon and hawk. Wild duck, geese, pelicans, herons, and bustards abounded; also a wild darkish field dove, owl, wild hen, crane, and probably cuckoo, raven, crow, hoopoe, jay, and quail. Domesticated birds were unknown. No word for fish, though they must have been abundant in the Volga. Probably were not much noticed, and never eaten. (2) Domesticated animals. Ox, sheep, goat. They were known as "the fastened," as opposed to those that ran wild. Dog was used to watch herds. Horse, partially domesticated, raised in droves for flesh and milk, not for riding or driving. Did not have ass, mule, cat, or poultry.

3. Institutional life.

a. Home life.

(1) Organization of the family. The highest social organization was the house community. It consisted of the house master, who was the sole and arbitrary ruler, his sons with their wives, and unmarried children, and grandsons with their families. Unmarried women remained with the family

under special protection of the house master. When married they became members of their husband's families, severing entirely their connection with their own. Wives were obtained by capture or purchase. Polygamous marriages were allowed but were not usual. Woman had few rights, and was regarded simply as property of the husband. The old, after they became infirm, were neglected and treated cruelly. Old age was regarded as "oppressive," "doleful," a "calamity."

The rights of the house master descended to his oldest son. A close feeling of community life existed within the house community. Banishment from this family was the worst punishment possible. Words "abandoned," "unhappy," spring from words meaning homeless. The stranger had few rights and was regarded with suspicion and enmity. The Aryans in early times in the Volga valley had no love for any locality as fatherland, because of their migrations.

(2) Houses.

(*a*) Wagons. Lived in wagons during migrations. Camped at night around one open fire. Wagons were drawn by oxen and were roughly made. A pair of wheels and the axletree connecting them were all hewn in one piece from a tree trunk, thus somewhat resembling a spool. But before the Aryans left their original home on the Volga they discovered they could make the axletree separately and fasten it to the wheels with linchpins. Words for nave or hub, pole and yoke, indicate that these parts were known also. The wheels were without spokes. The art of wagon making is a distinctive characteristic of the early Indo-Europeans.

(*b*) Underground houses. A circular basin-like hole was dug in the ground, probably six and a half to thirteen feet deep, with a radius of eleven to fifteen yards. (The dimensions are taken from the "funnel pits" or "mardelle" of

Europe, which are supposed to be the remains of the primitive house.) Short stakes were driven in the ground around the opening, and reeds and willows were wound in and out, forming a kind of basket work. On this was packed mud two or three inches thick, both inside and out. Across the top were laid first strong branches of trees for ribs and then reeds and bark in layers for the roof. The opening was in the roof, serving for both window and door, and in entering it is probable that one had to climb down a pole, which no doubt had steps formed by the cut-off branches. Afterward ladders were used. As the people advanced in civilization, the wicker-work walls of the houses grew higher and higher and the hole in the ground more shallow, but the door still remained in the top of the roof as a protection against wild beasts. At last the door was put in the side. Still later an opening was made in the roof for a window. The door could be closed from without by means of a crossbar. For a floor a layer of clay was spread and packed down. A sort of shaft or tunnel entrance was made to some of the houses, through which the cattle could enter. Fire was made in the center of the hut, first on the clay, afterward on a slab of stone. The smoke escaped through the hole in the roof.

(3) Food.

(*a*) Kinds. Had both animal and vegetable diet.

1′. Animal. Lived mainly on the flesh of herds, — sheep, ox, goat, horse. Ate wild animals only in case of necessity. Birds and fish were not eaten. Bones were cracked and the marrow sucked out as a great delicacy. Milk and cheese were used, but butter was unknown.

2′. Vegetable. Wild grain, wheat, barley, and millet were gathered and parched and made into hard, round, flat cakes, from very thin to an inch in thickness, and from four to five inches in diameter, and eaten. For fruit they had cornel, cherry, apple, pear, and plum.

3′. Salt. Salt was in use, but was not common.

4′. Mead. Mead, an intoxicating drink made from honey, was used.

5′. Method of preparation. Meat was eaten raw sometimes, but was usually roasted on a spit over the open fire. Later on ovens were dug out and lined with stones. The oven was heated and the meat wrapped in leaves and placed inside. Embers and dirt were placed on top. Boiling was not known. The cakes made of grain were baked in the ashes. Cheese was made by drying coagulated milk in the sun. This was pounded into a powder, which was afterward soaked in water and drunk.

(4) Fire. Fire was produced by rubbing sticks together, or by flints. It was fed with rushes, etc. It was sometimes fanned by the wings of the larger birds.

(5) Clothing. Clothing at first consisted of skins from domesticated and wild animals. The hide was wrapped around the body, beginning at the right, drawn over the shoulders, passed under the arms in front, and fastened with thorns at each shoulder, the back part being drawn over to meet the front. This left both arms free, and an opening on the right side. A girdle was worn, at least at times, as was also a loin cloth. Sometimes hides were sewn together, bone needles, and sinews for thread, being used. Woolen and felt garments were also in use, but not linen. Shoes were worn, but no covering for the head. Many ornaments were worn, chief of which were those made of copper, which was the one metal known. Men and women dressed alike. They did not wash their bodies, but instead smeared them over with fat. Later, in the agricultural period, butter was used for the same purpose but not for food.

b. Industrial life.

(1) Cattle raising. Cattle raising was the most important industry. A man's wealth was reckoned in cattle.

They were the object for which he fought. The cow was the standard for value. Horned cattle, the main dependence, supplying food and clothing, were also beasts of burden and of draught. Sheep, goats, and horses were also raised.

There was no adequate shelter, the animals wintering in the open, in protected spots. Often whole herds perished from cold and starvation, and from attacks of wild animals. Later on cattle wintered with the family.

Frequent changes of pasture were necessary. To keep their bearings on these journeys, they turned their faces to the sun in the east, so they had south to the right and north to the left.

Hunting was entirely secondary to cattle raising. The men hunted only as a means of defense or to procure food in case of necessity. Wild animals were not offered to the gods. Of farming there was none, though the wild grain was gathered.

The importance of cattle raising over all other industries accounts partly for the vague divisions of time. The day was separated into three parts only, two of which point clearly to the occupation of the people. Morning was the time the cows were driven together, evening was the return home; midday was also distinguished. Time was counted not by the sun at all, but by the purely lunar month, by nights instead of days, and by winters instead of summers, the latter due to the great impression made by cold and hardships endured. Winter and summer were combined into the idea of year, though this idea was vague.

Flocks were numbered, the Aryans being able to count to one hundred. They measured with the natural measuring units, — finger, span, arm, arm's length, foot, and pace. The latter units of measuring, however, were not directly connected with cattle raising.

(2) Manufacturing. Extremely simple, done almost altogether in the family.

(*a*) Pottery. Pottery was first roughly shaped with the hands and burned in the open fire. Later a potter's wheel, a thin slab resting on a stone pivot, was invented. The kettle, pot, ball-shaped water jug, and milk pail were made. At first decorations consisted only of dots; straight and curved lines made by pressing in thongs of twisted leather. Encyclopædia Britannica gives very helpful information on the subject of primitive pottery.

(*b*) Cloth. The art of plaiting was probably the beginning of the art of spinning and weaving, preceding both. The invention of the spindle marks the advance of spinning from plaiting. Weaving was first, probably, only basket work made by the fingers. Strips of bark were woven together for mats before a weaving apparatus was invented. The processes of spinning and weaving are described in the Aryan story in the author's *History for Graded and District Schools.*

Felt was made by laying the wool of the sheep in layers, sprinkling it with water, converting it by means of the glutinous fat into a compact mass, and finally pressing and fulling it (see Shrœder and Jevons, *Institutions of the Primitive Aryan*).

(*c*) Leather. The Aryans tanned skins and made from them bottles, shields, bowstrings, bags, and clothing.

(*d*) Weapons. Weapons of various kinds were made, although in general the Aryans were at peace. Knives, made of flint, from two to eight inches long, were used for cutting. Slings were made of leather, and stones could thus be thrown with deadly force. Sometimes sling stones were thrown with the hand. Shields were made of leather and of wood. Bows and arrows, the latter with flint arrowheads, were made. The club was the weapon in greatest use. Hammers and axes were also used.

(3) Trade. The Aryans obtained honey, timber, and copper by barter. "Dumb barter takes place when the one party deposits his wares at a certain fixed place and then withdraws, whereupon the purchaser appears, places his *quid pro quo* (i.e. one thing for another) by the side of the wares exposed, and in his turn disappears as quickly as he can. If his equivalent is taken, his business is done; if not, the purchaser is bound to add to the goods he offers" (Shrœder and Jevons). Crossing streams was one of the necessities of barter. Shallow places in the river were known as places for fording, and these determined regular routes of travel. Boats were simply tree trunks hollowed out by means of fire and ax. Oars were known, but not sails.

c. Religion. Pure nature worship. To the Aryans gods did not exist apart from the phenomena worshiped. The sky, sun, fire, dawn, storm, and thunder were worshiped. Each power of nature seemed conquered at some time by other powers, as when the dawn was swallowed up by the day; the sky, however, seemed constant, so it was worshiped as the greatest of all gods, as father. There were both male and female gods. Sky and sun were male generally, except when sun and moon were spoken of together, when they were oppositely sexed, sometimes the sun, sometimes the moon, being the male. Their religious thought was pervaded by the idea of conflict between winter and summer, and this struggle is reflected in the myths of all nations. The story of the sleeping beauty belongs to this class of myths. In this period they had no priests, but certain ceremonies must have been performed by the house father. We have evidences that certain sacrifices were performed (even human ones), and that barley was connected with the holy ritual of sacrifice. Fire was sacred, especially the fire of the hearth.

II. IN AGRICULTURAL STAGE

1. In Europe.

a. Location. They were bounded on the south by the Danube and the sea, on the east by the Dnieper, on the north by forests and swamps reaching up toward central Europe, on the west by the Carpathians.

b. Characteristics of the country.

(1) Contour. Mostly level, mountainous on the west, swampy on the north.

(2) Rivers. Abundant, usually wide and deep, sometimes forming dangerous rapids, sometimes spreading out in swamps.

(3) Soil. Extremely rich and productive, easily turned by the plow.

(4) Climate. Transitions of seasons more gradual. They learned to distinguish autumn as the time for gathering in the crops.

(5) Vegetation. Abundant and varied. Grassy steppes on the east change rapidly into dense forests. Many new trees, as beech, oak, willow, hazel, elm, alder, ash, maple. Oak the principal tree. In after ages the early Greeks and Germans revered the oak greatly. Flax began to be cultivated.

(6) Animal life. Animals wilder and more terrifying. Bears numerous; also aurochs, bison, elk, boars, wolves. Between the Carpathian and the Balkan mountains lions roamed. The hedgehog, fox, lynx, and hart were common. Pigs began to be domesticated as human life became more rooted in the soil. Did not have the cat, but the weasel took its place as mouse catcher, and also in superstitions and mythology; for example, it was considered bad luck to have the weasel cross one's path. Birds were very numerous. Cranes, wagtails, throstle, woodpecker, and starling are

mentioned. Bees were common. Honey, obtained before only by barter, was now abundant. Fish became known when boats fit for navigation, i.e. boats with sails, came into use. Nets were woven of flax, floated with buoys of bark, and sunk with stone weights.

c. Institutional life.

(1) Improvement in home life.

(*a*) Organization of the family. House master at the head of his immediate family as before, with absolute power over his family and dependents, but not over his brothers or near relatives, who themselves are rulers of their households. The house masters, tracing their ancestry from a common source, meet as a sort of council, which decides all questions of common interest. This organization is called the brotherhood. Later the brotherhoods, settled on adjacent territory, form confederations for the sake of defense against a common enemy, thus founding the tribe. The tribal ties are made stronger by frequent marriages between members of different brotherhoods, and on account of the more settled life the wife's relations begin, for the first time, to be recognized, especially the mother's brother as the uncle and protector of the children. No last name as yet appears.

(*b*) Houses. The rectangular log house which may have appeared before the agricultural period now became common. Some, at least, had a high sloping roof. The round hut was retained by the less energetic members of the tribes.

(*c*) Food. Much the same as before. Acorns, fish, and pork added to the diet. They began to make butter, not for the purpose of eating it, but for lubrication. The milk was put into a sheepskin or goatskin bag and kneaded or beaten until the butter was formed. Meat was roasted as before. A method of boiling was discovered. Clodd says: "Afterward they [primitive people] would dig a hole and line it with the hard hide of the slain animal, fill it with

water, put the meat in and then make stones red hot, dropping them in until the water was hot enough and the meat cooked. Then a still better way would be found out by boiling the food in vessels set over the fires. These vessels were daubed outside with clay to prevent their being burnt" (*The Childhood of the World*).

(*d*) Clothing. Hides and woolen mantles worn as before. Linen was added to materials for clothing. Hats and caps were introduced.

(2) Industrial life.

(*a*) Cattle raising. Cattle raising still important but slowly giving way before farming.

(*b*) Farming.

1′. Plants cultivated. Had wheat, millet, and barley. Did not have oats. Had flax but not hemp. Probably had peas, beans, and onions. Did not cultivate trees.

2′. Plow. The first plow was a stout piece of wood bent into a hook shape. It was without a handle. A sharp stone was, at a later period, inserted for a point. Early names for plow mean "wolf with the biting teeth," "rooting hog," "pig's snout." It is supposed that the first plow was pulled over the ground by a man. Then a handle was added, so that one pushed while the other pulled. Afterward the pulling was done by oxen, the man guiding.

3′. Harrow. The first harrow was a branch of a tree. It was dragged over the plowed ground at first by a man and later by oxen.

4′. Sickle. A stone sickle was used for cutting the wheat.

5′. Thrashing. Grain was trodden out by man and cattle, and freed from the chaff by throwing it up in the air.

6′. Fences. Fences consisted at first of twisted thorns and reeds, and were used to inclose small pieces of land in which were planted peas, beans, and onions. This farmyard is probably near the beginning of private property in land.

(*c*) Manufacturing.

1′. Pottery. Potter's oven was made, and a way was discovered to make the glaze.

2′. Cloth. Cloth was now made of linen as well as of wool and felt.

3′. Flour. The earliest flour mill was a hollow stone, the mortar, in which the grain was pounded with another stone of convenient shape, the pestle. Afterward the surfaces of the mortar and pestle were roughened, so that the grain was grated rather than pounded. Later a handle was added to the top of the pestle.

4′. Weapons. The smith's art may have been begun; if so, they used stone tools at first.

(*d*) Trade.

1′. Fairs. Dumb barter gave way to fairs. "Two tribes agree that at a certain time in a neutral place war's alarms shall cease in the interests of trade. Weapons are laid aside and the dealers come together under the protection of the fair's truce."

2′. Guest friendship. Guest friendship comes next higher. The stranger coming for the purpose of trade is entertained in the home, the usual suspicion and hostility toward him being laid aside. Interchange of goods is more frequent, as a result of the more settled agricultural life (Shrœder and Jevons).

(3) Religion.

(*a*) Powers worshiped. Still nature worship, but as they before had worshiped those things in nature most in evidence, such as the sky, the sun, the dawn, so now they worshiped that which was ever present to their consciousness, — the forest, or individual trees, especially the oak. Woods and groves were the temples of the gods; the word "temple" probably first meant tree trunk. Soon they began to abstract the spirit from the object, i.e. they learned to

think of the soul of the tree as being able to leave it and go about. So now the belief grew that the forest was peopled with wood spirits, wild women, dryads, and nymphs.

(*b*) Priests and ceremonies. At first the father acted as priest, performing the ceremonies. Then arose magicians, warlocks, and soothsayers. One of the first ceremonies was divination by means of chips. They cut chips from the beech and oak, and cut signs on them denoting good or evil. If a public matter was to be decided, the priest of the tribe would officiate, or, if it were a private affair, the house master would. He cast the chips on a white cloth, and, looking upward and praying to the gods, he took three chips at random and then interpreted the meaning of the signs. Priests officiated at the sacrifices of animals, sometimes at human sacrifices. The offices of priest and physician were combined. The priest had a knowledge of a few healing herbs and poisonous plants.

(*c*) Relation to superstition. Their superstitions were hardly separated from their religion. "The beast of the wilderness is an object of reverential respect. With the fox, the wolf, the weasel, etc., that cross the path or the vision of the traveler he associates forebodings, sometimes of joy but mostly of gloom, to such a degree that at the present day we can hardly form an idea of the heaviness with which their superstitions and religious conceptions weighed upon them. To an especial degree does this hold good of the kingdom of birds, whose mysterious and incalculable comings and goings in the regions deemed to be the abode of the 'immortals,' fit them to be prophets" (Schrœder and Jevons). The birds were the prophets at first, probably prophesying spring only. Birds of ill luck were the owl and the dove. The right indicated good luck, the left bad. Right was lucky because the right hand was skillful, clever; left was unlucky because the left hand was

weak, feeble. The light of the moon was regarded as having an effect on vegetation.

2. In eastern Iran.

The Aryans who traveled southeast from the Volga settled in the eastern portion of Iran. Those who settled in the valleys developed agriculture in much the same way as the Europeans did, inventing the plow, raising grain, beans, etc. Instead of flax they cultivated hemp, from which they obtained their intoxicant. Those who settled on the surrounding steppe country remained nomads.

The new animals with which they became acquainted were the jackal, ass, and camel. They discovered gold. For weapons they had the bow and arrow, poisoned arrow, sling, spear, pike, sword, knife, ax, club (used both for throwing and hitting), and the lance.

3. In India.

From Iran part of the Aryans went into India, where the warm climate, fertile soil, and abundant rainfall made agriculture much easier. This permitted a more settled form of life. The community of villagers bound together by the ties of kinship was the social unit. Regular trade became possible.

The vegetation was abundant and tropical. The animals were fierce, the lion being the most terrible; the tiger was not known until later.

The numerous contests with the natives made a great impression on Indian life and must have been long and terrible.

A great amount of thought was given to religion, and the nature worship of ancestors developed into a worship of elevated divinities who ruled the elements. Religious thought finally crystallized in the Veda, which contains the highest ethical truth.

NOTE. The work on India may be expanded at the discretion of the teacher. The material is abundant and easy to obtain. Geographies and encyclopedias give information that may be used. One of the most helpful books is *Hindoo Literature of the Ancient Books*, by Elizabeth Reed. Besides many quotations from the Veda, it gives in a simplified form the great Indian epics, parts of which may be used to advantage in the work in literature. *Zigzag Journey in India*, by Butterworth, contains many characteristic Indian tales in which children are greatly interested.

In presenting the story as given above the teacher should understand that it is only typical. Not all Aryan tribes passed through the different stages of culture at the same time or with the same speed; then, as now, all were not equally pure in characteristics. Blood, bone, skin, hair, language, shape of skull, — all have entered into race making. As a matter of fact, no doubt, the Aryan people were much mixed in early times, just as the Semitic, Hamitic, Indian, Negro, and Anglo-Saxon races are mixed in our day. There are no perfectly pure races either on basis of blood or language in the world. The teacher can only hope to give the children the general truth about the formation of great world races.

GENERAL NOTE ON REFERENCE BOOKS

A small, select school library is one of the most useful and necessary adjuncts to the successful teaching of history. A few good books purchased annually will soon develop into an excellent working library. The fund for the purchase of these books is usually obtained through special appropriations, the levying of small fees, gifts from friends, and receipts from entertainments. It is understood that all the books in the following lists recommended for the various grades cannot generally be purchased at one time, and it is therefore suggested that the starred books be purchased first. With few exceptions, all the books mentioned here are in print and may be purchased either directly from the publisher, through local booksellers, or of collecting agencies.

It is not expected that the teachers, much less the pupils, will be able to read all the references cited, but it was deemed wise to make rather extensive lists, with the idea that some of the books would be found in the various school and public libraries. Attention is called to the most valuable references by means of asterisks and annotations. Those especially adapted to children's use are marked "juv." (juvenile), just following the title. Of course the amount of reading, both on the part of teachers and pupils, will naturally progress with the advance in grades, and therefore the number of references is increased.

REFERENCES FOR THE FIRST GRADE

ANDREWS, JANE. Ten Boys Who Lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1885. 50 cents.

The language is simple, and the story of Kablu, a typical Aryan boy, will be readily understood when read to the children, and affords excellent illustrative and suggestive material on one branch of the early history of man, except that most of the better authorities now place the origin of the early Aryan people in southeastern Europe on the Volga river instead of in India.

CLODD, EDWARD. Childhood of the World: a Simple Account of Man in Early Times. London, Kegan Paul, 1872. 1 shilling.

CLODD, EDWARD. The Story of Primitive Man. (Library of Useful Stories.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1895. 35 cents.

DOPP, K. E. *Industrial and Social History Series (juv.). Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co., 1903–1906. 4 vols. 45 cents each.

Three of the four volumes have already been published and the fourth is in preparation. They are written in the simplest language, and the first two may be used as supplementary reading books in this grade. They are very helpful in introducing children to the atmosphere of most primitive man. Contents: Book I, The Tree Dwellers, — the age of fear; Book II, The Early Cave Men, — the age of combat; Book III, The Later Cave Men, — the age of the chase; Book IV, The Tent Dwellers, — the early fishing men.

HERBERTSON, A. J. and F. D. *Man and His Work. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1902. 1 shilling 6 pence.

An excellent introduction to the origin of the various occupations of man.

IHERING, RUDOLPH VON. Evolution of the Aryan. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1897. $3.00.

KEARY, C. F. Dawn of History. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887. $1.25.

KEMP, E. W. History for Graded and District Schools (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

"The purpose of this book is to present a framework of history for the graded and district schools; that is, for children from six to fifteen years of age." (Preface.)

LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN. Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1882. $2.00.

LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN. Prehistoric Times. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1900. 6th ed. $5.00.

The author, in these two works, aims to show that civilization has arisen from original barbarism and that barbarism is not the result of degeneration.

MAINE, H. S. Ancient Law. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1888. $3.50.

MAINE, H. S. Early History of Institutions. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1888. $3.50.

This and the preceding work show the origin of many modern customs.

MASON, O. T. Woman's Share in Primitive Culture. (Anthropological Series.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1894. $1.75.

MORGAN, L. H. Ancient Society. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1878. $4.00.

A very scholarly effort to trace the lines of human progress from savage life to civilization.

MORRIS, CHARLES. Aryan Race. Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1888. $1.50.

RAWLINSON, GEORGE. Origin of Nations. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1877. $1.00.

An old standard authority.

SCHRADER, DR. O. * Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples. London, Charles Griffin & Co., 1890. 21 shillings.

One of the best possible references for the teacher's use.

SHALER, N.S. *Domesticated Animals, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. $2.50.

STARR, FREDERICK. Some First Steps in Human Progress. Cleveland, Chautauqua Assembly, 1901. $1.00.

TAYLOR, ISAAC. Origin of the Aryans. (Contemporary Science Series.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889. $1.50.

The theories which dispute the Asiatic origin of the Aryan race are here strongly presented.

TYLOR, E. B. Primitive Culture. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1889. $7.00.

VIOLLET-LE-DUC, E. E. * Habitations of Man in All Ages. London, Sampson Low, 1876. 16 shillings.

Though out of print, copies of this valuable work will be found in the larger libraries, and second-hand copies may be purchased if sufficient time is given to a good collecting agency.

WATERLOO, STANLEY. Story of Ab: a Tale of the Time of the Cave Men. Chicago, Way & Williams, 1898. $1.50.

Tells with scientific accuracy how the cave men lived, hunted, and fought.

OUTLINE OF THE SECOND-GRADE WORK

NOTE. The material upon which this outline for the eight grades of the elementary school is based, is found largely in the history stories and other material in the author's *History for Graded and District Schools.*

In presenting the stories for the second grade, as in presenting all historical work, the relation of cause and effect should be constantly emphasized. In the following outline this relation is made prominent, and suggestions as to the method of presenting the stories are made.

The chief causes influencing the life developed in a country may be regarded as two, — the physical features of the country and the fundamental, controlling ideas held by the people. The effects may be regarded as three, — the characteristic institutional life developed within the country, the influence exerted on other nations, and the contributions made by any people to the general historical stream.

In presenting the work the stories should be told, not read. They should be enriched by the personality of the teacher through explanation, illustration, and vivid word description, and pictures should be used freely. The teacher should help the children to construct the mental pictures that the story suggests, and should encourage them to reproduce them, not only in well-selected language of their own but by means of drawing, molding, cutting, and sewing.

The aim of the second-grade work is to present in simple form some of the most characteristic features of the life which grew up in the two old seats of civilization, — the Nile valley and the valley of the Tigro-Euphrates.

This life is to be presented in connection with stories of the life in Egypt, in Palestine, and in Phœnicia. Phœnicia is to be seen as a country lying between the two great valley civilizations, yoking them together, as it were, and finally gathering up the products produced in each and distributing them all around the Mediterranean Sea.

These stories are intended merely to give teachers a hint of both matter and method for this grade ; but it is hoped that they will lead to the reading of some of the best books on the life of these countries, without which the best work in history of whatever grade is impossible.

I. Life of the Egyptians

Geography. Egypt was shut in from the world, was level, had a rich soil and a warm climate, and was connected throughout its entire length by the Nile River.

The controlling ideas of the people were their religious ideas and ideals, their idea of the relation that existed between the king and the gods, and their idea of life after death.

Because of these conditions they developed within the country an absolute monarchy, extensive building, internal commerce, and agricultural life, the art of writing, the science of number and medicine, and made great advance in architecture and sculpture.

For neighboring nations they furnished a storehouse of art, science, and material wealth.

To the general historical stream they contributed their knowledge of art, science, and building, took the early steps toward working out an alphabet, and started mankind to think on the problem of the immortality of the soul.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE WAY OF PRESENTING THE PART OF THE STORY RELATING TO VARIOUS TOPICS

Time. Carry the children back in time as far as possible, and there begin the story. No time connection need be made with the early Aryan life studied in the first grade, since the Egyptian is probably the older. Use the birth of Christ as the chief point in time, since it is so used in history. Make this time point as clear as possible to the children by simple illustration.

Physical features. Do not feel satisfied until the children see Egypt mentally and are able to illustrate with drawings or modelings.

Religious ideas. In working out the religious view of the Nile held by the Egyptians, explain fully the phenomenon of the overflow, emphasizing the seeming personality of the river. Give the children an opportunity to account for the fact; then give the true explanation; finally, give the view held by the ancient Egyptians. Thus the children are led to confront the same problem that the Egyptians confronted. It is probable that some of the explanations offered by the children will be very similar to the one accepted by the Egyptians.

NOTE. Whenever it is practicable the children should be made to solve the same problems that the ancients did, before the historical solution is given to them. Gradually they will come to think that the views held in ancient times were not wholly wrong, but were rather a development of experience and environment.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE KING AND THE GODS AND THE KING AND THE PEOPLE

Emphasize the fact that the great veneration of the people for the king partly accounts for the fact that he could own so much of the land, control the produce and

labor of the country, and build great temples and pyramids. Tell the children something of slavery in Egypt, and compare it, so far as they are able, with slavery as it once existed in our country. Help the children to think upon which would be better for early man, to run wild in the woods or to become settled on farms, some being slaves of others.

The farm life of the Egyptians. This part of the story is given in the form of a trip, to suggest one way in which the work may be made concrete. Present problems to the children, such as, What way did the Egyptians devise to water the fields on the hillside? Why did they not have steel plows for plowing the ground? Have the children give in good language the whole farming process, including a description of the implements used.

The school life. Emphasize the fact that the Egyptians invented their system of writing and of counting. Present such problems as, Why did the peoples of the Nile and Euphrates valleys invent systems of writing and counting before the peoples living in a cold climate and on barren soil? What made the Egyptians wish to write and count? How would our schools be different if each child made his own paper? Have the children tell how things in their schoolroom would compare with similar things in the Egyptian school.

The temple. Use drawings and pictures freely. Pictures of Egyptian temples, pylons, and columns are easily obtained. Encourage the children to represent the temple on the school ground.

Lead them to see that it was massive, comparatively low, and stable, suggesting that the Egyptians wanted it to last forever.

Embalming. Show pictures of a mummy and draw pictures of mummy cases. Explain the symbols on them. Explain the process of embalming.

Sculpture. Help the children to see the purpose of sculpture. Explain the Egyptians' idea that departed spirits returned to earth and inhabited the stone statues; the similar thought as to departed spirits returning to occupy the body. Compare pictures of Egyptian with Greek statuary. Which is the most pleasing and graceful? Why?

The great pyramid. Arouse, by means of word description, a feeling of its vast size; compare with size of schoolhouse yard; explain its use; compare with monuments of the present day. Have the children make drawings of the pyramid. Encourage the building of a small one, being careful as to proportion. Pyramids may be cheaply and conveniently made of plaster of Paris. Many helpful pictures are available in books and magazines.

Imaginary climb. Tell how the long valley with its characteristic life and great sand deserts would look from the top; help the children to imagine it. Help them to sum up what the Egyptians thought or did, which other people, coming after, could learn without having to think for themselves.

II. Story of the Hebrews

Geography. Palestine was marked by great variety in surface, soil, climate, animals, and plants. Work out the country as divided by mountains, and as having a river running through deep gorges and extending through the eastern part.

The country often suffered from long droughts, thus causing the Jews to highly value the "dews of Heaven."

Effects. The physical environment tended to keep the people from uniting under one ruler. Palestine was almost as broken up by mountains as Greece, and the Jews had one united state for only about one hundred years; and throughout the fifteen hundred years of Jewish history

the tribes of different parts of the country were much of the time quarreling among themselves. Thus help the pupils to see that these geographical features of the country tended to keep the people disunited. The intense earnestness of the Jew to teach all his people that there was one true God who specially cared for the Jew tended to draw them all together to one common place of worship; hence Jerusalem, as the one great religious and educational center, finally arose. It also became the greatest commercial center of the Jewish nation.

Palestine was near the great roadway between the east and the west. It contributed wealth and some produce to the other nations and kept before them the most advanced religious idea.

To the general stream of history it contributed the systematic beginning of the idea of one all-powerful and just God.

Time and place of the Jewish history. Develop these ideas by connecting Palestine and its history in a general way with Egyptian history. Egyptian history was very old as compared with that of Palestine. Palestine was perhaps from ten to fifteen days by caravan northeast of Upper Egypt.

Origin of Hebrew religion. Work out with the children the early life of Abraham. After working out, as clearly as the age of the children will permit, the idea of Jewish religion, then give them the word — monotheism.

History of the Hebrews. Tell the stories of Jacob, of Joseph, of Moses, of David, of Solomon. Make clear nomadic life in connection with the early life of the Jews (shepherds, sheep, tents, traveling from place to place, etc.); compare with Indian life in this country. Draw a picture of a primitive altar. Lead the children to see the benefits that the Hebrews derived from living in Egypt so long. Name the things that they might learn from the Egyptians

of that time, as the alphabet, "Holy Place," "Holy of Holies," the worship of a calf, the sacrifice of oxen.

Physical features. Make clear by simple illustrations the fact that the environment of the people tended to keep them from forming just one great government. Imagine and describe the life as it would appear in tribes in the various parts of the country. Draw a map of the country and have the children name the products. Draw a picture of a vineyard and describe the work in it. Describe the work on a Jewish farm and compare with that in our own country.

Commercial life. Show on the maps how Palestine lies near the great roadway between the Nile valley and that of the Tigro-Euphrates. Have the pupils draw such a map. What would the people of Palestine have to sell? What would they buy? Whom would they sell to and buy from? Modes of travel; compare with present modes.

City of Jerusalem. Think of it as being on a hill; relation of location to easy defense; Jews' idea of a "high place" as best for worship; make diagrams and drawings of the city. Use pictures freely. Dwell on the city as the center of religion, government, education and culture, and business life. Did Jerusalem need a wall more than a city in Egypt needed one? Why?

Home life. The everyday occupations of the people; food, clothing, farm life, and farm implements; compare with our own, and tell where they got the embroidered linen of which their mantles were made; also tell where they got their jewelry and their divans. Description of dinner in a Hebrew house.

School life. Where did the Hebrews learn to write and to make books? What did they write on? Have the children play that they are in a Hebrew school and have them put away everything from their own schoolroom that is not in a Hebrew school. Compare what would probably be

written on a Hebrew scroll with that written on an Egyptian scroll. What were some of the things that the Hebrew men would probably discuss in the temple?

Solomon's temple. Size, beauty. Did it have statues of gods and goddesses in it? Why not? Explain to the children in this connection the statement of the Bible, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image"; effect of this commandment upon the production of art by the Hebrews. Tell the children about the inside of the temple; the Holy Place; Holy of Holies; furnishings of the temple and where obtained; sacrifices. Compare this religion with that of the Egyptians and tell wherein it agrees and wherein it differs. The aim in comparing one religion with another is to help the children to see (1) the stages in religious growth; but also just as distinctly (2) the unity in the religious experience of all races.

> Truth is one,
> And in all lands beneath the sun,
> Whoso has eyes to see may see
> The tokens of its unity.

Compare with our own.

Compare the contribution of the Hebrews to the stream of history with the contributions made by the Egyptians. Sum up the things both worked out, and suggest things that may yet be worked out by other peoples; as, for example, beautiful art by the Greeks, etc. Compare different peoples with different pupils, and show that just as one pupil can do one thing well and another another thing, so it is with peoples.

III. Story of the Phœnicians

Geography. Phœnicia was small in size but rich in vegetation. It was shut away from the eastern world by the almost impassable Lebanon Mountains. The Mediterranean

Sea, containing the valuable fish from which purple dye was made, lay to the west.

The people were influenced largely by their geography, but instead of being in a rich valley like the Nile or the Euphrates, they were in a little rocky country which made them struggle in every way to overcome the difficulties which surrounded them; hence they became one of the most wide-awake people of the olden time. Trade and commerce finally became the chief occupations in the development of their life.

The people advanced in all forms of industrial life, but they especially became great navigators and traders. In order to facilitate commercial life they perfected systems of writing and counting that had been partially worked out by other nations. At Sidon and Tyre they built up rich and powerful little city states.

In relation to the other nations they were the great distributors of raw materials, manufactured products (as shawls, carpets, jewelry, spices, papyrus, parchment, useful farm and household implements, etc.), systems of writing and counting, and ideas regarding science and art. To the general stream of history they contributed shipbuilding and the alphabet, and sowed the early seeds of science, art, and industry around almost the entire coast of the Mediterranean Sea. In ancient times they were the navigators of the Mediterranean, as the Vikings and Northmen were of the Atlantic in more modern times.

Geography of Phœnicia. The geography of the country so largely determined the life of the Phœnicians that every means for constructing a vivid picture of it should be used; describe, mold in sand, draw on paper or board, describe from map.

Ships. What led the Phœnicians to build ships? Why did they think out the art of shipbuilding before the

Egyptians or the Hebrews? Explain the meaning of the words "bireme" and "trireme." Describe the ships and the way the rowers sat. Show pictures, etc. Compare in size with our ships. Aid the children in making good mental pictures of each kind of ship. Have drawings and cuttings of them made. Have the children give all the ancient ways of propelling boats and ships, as floating on stream, rowing, sailing; compare with our present way. Why did not the Phœnicians use steam? Why did not the world always continue to use such a boat as the Phœnicians used? Tell the story of the invention of the steamship. Tell stories of the galley slaves (see *Ben Hur*).

An imaginary trip on water in a Phœnician trading ship. Make the trip real and vivid. Have the children tell where each article taken on the Phœnician boat was produced, e.g. shawls from Persia, spices from Arabia, leopard and lion skins from Egypt, etc. Notice each stop made and the trading at each place. Had the Phœnicians a compass? Explain use of compass. The Phœnicians took doves along with them on the boat so that in case they were driven by storm out of sight of the land they might find their way back by letting loose a dove and following the general course of its flight till they came to land again. Could the Phœnicians have crossed the Atlantic with nothing but a dove to guide them when they got lost? Would the training obtained in learning to travel on the Mediterranean help to teach others how to cross the Atlantic centuries after?

Imaginary caravan trip to the East for purpose of trade. The camels; their fitness for long trips through the desert; how loaded; with what; how driven. Draw and have the children draw a picture of the Lebanon Mountains, with a narrow pass; draw a map of the journey from Phœnicia back to Babylon. Use word description and pictures freely in giving an idea of a caravan. Compare

carrying goods by caravan with man carrying them on his own back, as was done at first; compare with the present method; think out why there has been a change from one way to the other. Have the children illustrate a caravan by drawing or cutting.

Religion. Molock and how he was worshiped. Compare the Phœnician religion with that of the Hebrew. Compare the Phœnician idea of sacrifice with our idea.

Sum up the great contributions made by the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and the Jews, and lead the children to think of things not yet done by any of them. Draw a stream on the board, with tributaries flowing into it from Egypt, Babylon, Palestine, and Phœnicia, and lead the children to tell the chief ideas which each tributary pours into the stream. Which tributary rises first? second? third? fourth?

IV. Story about Books

This story is intended to show the development in the art of writing and in book making. It is also intended as a brief summing up of second-grade history work. The working out of a *system of preserving knowledge* was perhaps the greatest achievement of the people whom we have been studying. Before beginning the story endeavor to make the children appreciate the difficulties that the ancient people labored under from having no way of recording their thoughts, and lead the children to work out some way for handing knowledge on from one generation to the next; of sending word to distant friends, relatives, etc. Do this by having them imagine themselves in a place where there are no books, paper, or writing materials of any kind, and in which not a person can read or write. Have them think out ways to send a message to a friend ten miles distant, without telling the message to the messenger. Explain

and illustrate what is meant by tradition. Give the story slowly, leading the children to recognize each new advance and to feel the progress made.

By way of helps show wood carvings and pictures of stone carvings. Make clay bricks and cylinders and a small wedge with which to write. Help the children to copy some cuneiform writing and then burn the bricks and cylinders. Show the children parchment. Have them make rolls or scrolls, using common paper. Have them read from the scroll, unrolling one end and rolling the other as they read, as was done by the ancients; have them make imitation papyrus paper out of dry cornstalk pith.

Select the names of several common objects and have the children devise means of expressing them by object, picture, sign, and letter writing. Compare the kinds of books described in the story and the various ways of writing. Which was easiest? Why? Which was fastest? Why?

Compare our books with the clay cylinder and parchment roll. Seek for their advantages over our books as well as for their defects. Help the children to see that a system of writing and making something to write on have been great aids in the progress of man. It has helped him to accumulate *thought* from age to age just as he has accumulated wealth by inventing plows, ships, railroads, etc.

Sum up the contributions made by all the people studied, and have the children think which have been of the greatest importance in helping along the advancement of man.

Think of things great or small not yet thought out by any of the people thus far studied; as, for example, compass, matches, pens, ink, carpets, stoves, electric cars, steam engines, steamboats, books, globes, maps, writing paper, pianos, etc. Lead children to think which country they would have liked best to live in, if they had lived in the olden time and could have freely chosen, and why.

REFERENCES FOR THE SECOND GRADE

General Histories

ANDERSON, R. E. *The Story of Extinct Civilizations of the East. (Library of Useful Stories.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1898. 35 cents.

This little volume is full of reliable information concerning the Egyptians, Hittites, Phœnicians, and Hebrews.

ANDREWS, JANE. Ten Boys Who Lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1885. 50 cents.

See note in references for first grade.

ARNOLD, EMMA J. *Stories of Ancient Peoples (juv.). New York, American Book Company, 1901. 50 cents.

BOUGHTON, WILLIS. History of Ancient Peoples. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. $2.00.

CLODD, EDWARD. Story of the Alphabet. (Library of Useful Stories.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1906. 35 cents.

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Chapters XV, XVI, XVII, and XX of Vols. II and III will be found especially helpful, including a discussion of the Phœnicians, upon whom material is scarce.

KEMP, E. W. History for Graded and District Schools (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, $1.00.

SAYCE, A. H. *Ancient Empires of the East. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. $1.50.

One of the latest and best references on the subject.

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A more satisfactory treatise cannot be found, and the work is well illustrated.

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WENDEL, F. C. H. History of Egypt. (History Primers.) Chicago, American Book Company, 1890. 35 cents.

WILKINSON, SIR J. G. Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. Revised by S. Birch. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., n.d. 3 vols. $8.00.

An old standard authority.

Tigro-Euphrates Valley

BENJAMIN, S. G. W. Persia. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888. $1.50.

BUDGE, E. A. W. Babylonian Life and History. London, Religious Tract Society, 1897. 3 shillings.

GOODSPEED, G. S. * History of the Babylonians and Assyrians. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. $1.25.

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RAGOZIN, Z. A. Media, Babylonia, and Persia. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888. $1.50.

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SAYCE, A. H. The Hittites: the Story of a Forgotten Empire. London, Religious Tract Society, 1892. 2 shillings 6 pence.

SAYCE, A. H. * Primer of Assyriology. Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Company, n.d. 40 cents.

A brief and simple, though scholarly account of the country, history, religion, literature, and social life of the Chaldæans, Babylonians, and Assyrians.

Hebrews

BALDWIN, JAMES. Old Stories of the East (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1896. 45 cents.

Old Testament stories simply told from the literary point of view and in the order of historical continuity.

CHURCH, A. J. Story of the Last Days of Jerusalem, from Josephus (juv.). London, Seeley & Co., 1889. 3 shillings 6 pence.

CORNILL, C. H. * History of the People of Israel. Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1898. $1.50.

This is one of the best narrative sketches of Jewish history, readable and trustworthy.

DAY, EDWARD. Social Life of the Hebrews. (Semitic Series.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. $1.25.

A good treatise on Jewish institutions, manners, and customs in the time of the Judges and of the Monarchy.

EDERSHEIM, ALFRED. Sketches of Jewish Social Life. Oakland, California, Pacific Press, 1876. $1.25.

FENTON, JOHN. Early Hebrew Life. London, Trübner & Co., 1880.

Though out of print, it will be found in the larger libraries, and is well worth consulting.

GUERBER, H. A. * Story of the Chosen People (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1896. 60 cents.

A well-written juvenile history of the Jews, within the comprehension of second-grade pupils, though the language is somewhat more difficult than Herbst's Tales.

HERBST, EVA. * Tales and Customs of the Ancient Hebrews (juv.). Chicago, A. Flanagan Company, 1903. 35 cents.

The work of a practical teacher and highly commended. It may easily be read by second-grade pupils.

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Renan, Ernest. History of the People of Israel. Boston, Roberts Bros., 1894–1906. 5 vols. $2.50 each.

The works of Dean Milman and Ernest Renan may well be studied together, the former as the representative of conservative views and the latter of critical scholarship.

Smith, G. A. *Historical Geography of the Holy Land. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. 15 shillings.

The best reference on the relation of geography to the history of Israel and of the early church, accompanied by six good maps.

Wellhausen, Julius. *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1891. 5 shillings.

Whitehouse, O. C. *A Primer of Hebrew Antiquities. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, n.d. 40 cents.

Phœnicians

Church, A. J. Carthage. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886. $1.50.

Moore, Mabel. Carthage of the Phœnicians in the Light of Modern Excavation. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1905. $1.50.

Rawlinson, George. Phœnicia. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902. $1.50.

OUTLINE OF THE THIRD-GRADE WORK

The aim of the third-grade work is to present a view of the geography of Greece as one strong factor in influencing the institutions of the Greeks; then to present graphic pictures of the life of the Greek people at four different stages of their development.

I. In infancy, — Homer's time.

II. In youth, — independence gained by Greco-Persian wars.

III. In prime of life, — Age of Pericles.

IV. In old age, — Age of Alexander the Great.

Through story and biography and picture the pupil should be led to see not disconnected lives but something of Greece's growth from simple little village states to a land of great beauty, having in it a greater number of people who could think, and feel, and express beautiful sentiments about nature and life better than Egyptian, or Babylonian, or Hebrew, or Phœnician, or any other people we have yet studied. Then, having seen something of this land of thought and beauty, he should see how Alexander the Great sowed these seeds broadcast over the East by his conquests, and, by building up Alexandria, brought about a new, active city in which to unite what both the East and the West had thus far worked out. The children will, of course, not enter into the fullest meaning and beauty of all these relations at once, just as the same is true in educating them in music, painting, etc., but they may be started intelligently on a road which will grow clearer as they advance in the higher work.

The Geography of Greece

Name of country. Greece — Hellas.

Location. Direction from pupil's own home and from other known countries, such as those studied in connection with earlier history, — Egypt, Phœnicia, Palestine; relation to Europe. Distance from pupil's own home by rail, by steamer of to-day, by vessel of olden Greece, by walking, — each estimated in the time required to make the journey; distance in miles; distance from Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia, and its relation to the Mediterranean Sea found as above.

Size. By journey across the body of the country estimated in the time required to go across it on foot; size, in comparison with an already known country, as Indiana, the home county, or home township; size by an imaginative view from the top of Mount Parnassus, the most central peak in Greece; size, including the surrounding islands.

Shape. Compared with shape of hand with outstretched fingers; imagined from a vivid word picture by the teacher, reproduced by the child; produced in sand; outlined with pencil; seen on the map; drawn by teacher in pencil or crayon or molded in sand.

Surface. Mountains, very irregular; compare some to a backbone (the Pindus), others to ribs extending in each direction; others grouped like the knotted web work of a spider; steep cliffs; few passes through the mountains; home of gods and goddesses. Chief streams; influence of the land upon commerce; rivers very short, rapid; not one river that a boat could travel on; generally dry in summer time; forests grew on their banks and contained both wild and domestic animals. Will the mountains and streams tend to divide the Greek people into little divisions? The teacher may here lead the pupils to see that

since Greece was cut up into a great many little mountain-framed valleys, and the mountains were steep and wild, and since the rivers plunged down from these slopes over rocks and wore deep winding gorges which could be little used for pathways and roadways, the people instead of building up a country with a single ruler, as they had done in Egypt, would tend to build up small city states in each little valley nest, which would have little connection with the people but a few miles away on the other side of the mountains. Show the children, in so far as they can understand it, that it would be somewhat like this in the early New England states, but that it would be very different from this in the broad level states of the Mississippi valley, as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.

Thus finally lead the pupils to see the most characteristic feature in Greek government — many little independent city states instead of one great united state, as in Egypt, Babylonia, or the United States.

Climate. Very healthful; temperature of the country neither very hot nor very cold; relation of climate to energy of people, to physical exercise, to fine-looking bodies, to mental effort; compare with India; temperature from valley to mountain top; effect on vegetation; rainfall.

Soil. Not very rich; about one sixth of Greece would produce good crops by careful cultivation; mountain sides good for pasture. Which makes a people more active and self-reliant, to have a soil which they have to carefully till, or to have one which yields abundantly with little work? Compare the rocky soil of Greece with what the pupils know of the rocky soil of New England. Effect in each case on making the people energetic.

Rock strata. Limestone. In Greece the limestone was often burrowed through by the rivers which flowed off of

the mountain sides and were caught in the pockets of the mountain valleys; the rivers also cut deep gorges through the stone, forming many caves, grottos, and nooks; the imagination of the Greeks peopled these streams, caves, and grottos with gods and goddesses. Locate the oracle of Delphi; meaning of oracle. Explain the oracle of Dodona; locate Dodona. Show the relation of marble to Greek life.

Plant life. Beech, ash, pine, and oak on the foot hills and lower spurs of the mountains; peopled with gods and goddesses. (Tell the children of the oak grove in Epirus, where the priestess of Zeus listened to the rustle of the oak leaves and thereby told the will of the gods.) Wheat, barley, rye, millet, spelt, rice, lettuce, radishes, turnips, asparagus, beans, peas, garlic, and onions grown. Compare what could be grown on a Greek farm with what could be grown on a farm with which the children are familiar.

Animal life. Wild animals for hunting and food, — bear, wolf, wild boar, deer. Other animals for food, — ox, sheep, goat, hog, ass (occasionally), hare, thrush, dove, blackbird, starling, partridge, pigeon, goose, quail, fish, eel, snail, mussel, oyster. How were birds used to find out the will of the gods? Why did the Greeks think the birds knew the will of the gods? Compare the Greek view in this particular with the Hebrew view; with our way of thinking at the present time.

Seas, gulfs, bays, etc. Names of and location. Show how the arms of the sea extend far inland and tend to make good harbors; relation of harbors to commerce. Whom did the Greeks trade with? What did they sell? What did they buy? What kind of ships did they have? Were there arms of the sea to help them overcome the disadvantages of communication seen in wild rugged mountains and rocky winding rivers? Narrow passes between sea and mountains, and relation of these to defense of the country.

Gods and goddesses of the sea. Name and spell the chief ones, and tell what each did to help the Greeks.

Islands. Name and location of those on the west side; on east side. Name the most important ones. Which side has more? Would the islands help to make the Greeks commercial? How? Would they tend to lead the Greeks to plant colonies? Why? Voyages on the sea tending to make peoples active and self-reliant.

Relation of climate, mountains, seas, forests, birds, rocks, sky, and islands, all beautifully combined, to the development of the sense of beauty and artistic life among the Greeks.

NOTE. The purpose of studying geography in history is not chiefly to see geographical facts themselves, but to see how these facts influence the people in their religion, amusements, government, education, business, etc. For example, to see that Greece is cut up into hundreds of little pieces by mountains running in every direction, is of value to the teacher of history only when she shows that this condition will bring about among the people jealous, disconnected social and political life, and finally their political ruin. Of course any geographical material which the teacher wishes to use must be carefully worked out before its relation to the life of the people can be seen; but the chief question for the teacher of history to bear in mind, as she works on geographical facts in any grade, is, How did this mountain, or river, or sea, or animal, or plant, influence the life of the people?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREECE

I. GREECE IN HER INFANCY: HOMER'S TIME, — PREVIOUS TO 776 B.C.

1. **A Greek home.** Work out with children the primitive Greek home and its surroundings; its outer walls; the house, — plan, furnishings, ornamentation, decoration, occupants; servants and slaves, — their duties and treatment; members of the family: the father, — his relation to other members of the household, his work, his dress; the mother, — her position, work, dress; the children, — their dress,

training, music, gymnastics; the meals, — time of, means of preparation; compare with present time. Show pictures of beautiful things and furnishings seen in the early Greek home and help children to explain why they were beautiful.

2. **Agriculture.** Products, animal and vegetable, — show relation of these to soil and climate of Greece; implements, — those employed in plowing, reaping, and threshing, those used in growing and gathering the grape and the olive. Compare the way manual labor was looked on then with the way it is looked on now. Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, never did any work with their hands and thought manual labor dishonorable. Compare with the views, practices, and early life of Franklin, Washington, Webster, Lincoln, Garfield, Roosevelt. Does honest labor help to make the people of a country strong or weak? How does slavery weaken a country?

3. **Other phases of business and of society.** The market place; trade; discussions, showing the Greek's tendency to free thought; Greek religion; priests; forms of worship, — prayer and sacrifice, purification, holy water, libations, prophecy, and divination; condition of the government; education; music; poems of Homer; gymnastics; commerce with Phœnicians; the articles of commerce; effect of commerce (including slave trade) upon the Greek people. Compare the above details of Greek life with similar details of the life immediately surrounding the American child.

II. GREECE IN HER YOUTH: NATIONAL SPIRIT GAINED BY GRÆCO-PERSIAN WARS, — ABOUT 500–480 B.C.

1. **Greece.** Briefly tell children the chief events from Homer's time to the Persian wars; help them also to see the growth of the Greeks in their daily occupations. Point out on the map the growth of the chief cities, as Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Corinth, etc. Help children to see that to

understand this struggle between Greece and Persia (500–480 B.C.) it is necessary to picture out the difference of life in the two countries, as it grew from the Homeric Age down to the time when Greece felt strong enough to fight her vastly greater and richer enemy — Persia.

Study the government of Sparta; of Athens; Solon and his work for Athens; the tyrants, and their effect on Athens. Note the effect of migrations in the planting of colonies, the extension of commerce, and the broadening of the sympathies and the narrowing of the selfish views which tended to grow up in the life of the Greek cities.

Point out those things which tended to unify Greece and make the people unite to gain their liberties, namely: Olympic games, — show how these would tend to bring about common feelings among the states separated by natural barriers of hill and mountain wall; a common language; a common literature; a common religion; and a common feeling and appreciation of beauty.

2. **Persia.** Its size as compared with Greece; its government at the time of the struggle with Greece; compare the freedom of the people in the little Greek city states with the despotism in Persia. Which had the greater riches? Explain despotic government to children by showing how a pupil may be despotic on the playground, or a parent in ruling his family, or a king in ruling his people. In what way are slavery and despotic government alike? The relation of despotic government to the Greek cities in Asia Minor during the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, and Crœsus; revolt of Greek cities in Asia Minor; punishment of Sardis; attempt by Persia to punish Athens.

3. **Conflict between Greece and Persia.** Picture to children preparations for war; describe in detail the armies of both countries; say which would be the larger and which would cost more to keep up; describe the battles of Marathon and

Thermopylæ with the defeat of the Persian army at each place; show the effect of the defeat on Greece; fate of Miltiades; biography of Aristides and Themistocles; increase of the Greek fleet by Themistocles; effect upon Persia of defeat at Marathon; gathering of a great army under Xerxes, the successor of Darius; second conflict; Thermopylæ; defeat of the Greeks; Athens burned by the Persians; Persian fleet destroyed by Greeks at Salamis. Let children make some of the chief implements of warfare.

Help pupils to see why the free spirit of Greece conquered Persia (and therefore all western Asia); help them to see and feel the importance of Persia's defeat and Greece's triumph. Children should be trained to make constant use of a good geography and good geographical maps, and should be led to point out and spell the names of important cities, countries, bays, mountains, mountain passes, and to show the influence of these geographical features upon the struggle that went on for a generation between Persia and Greece. Ginn's *Classical Atlas* is recommended.

III. GREECE IN HER BEAUTY AND PRIME OF LIFE: AGE OF PERICLES, — ABOUT 480–430 B.C.

1. **Introduction.** Compare with children the time relation of this period to that of the Græco-Persian wars and of Homer's time, counted in centuries, half centuries, and generations; picture the condition of Athens, — need of restoration, means of rebuilding; cause and nature of the Delian League. Have children discuss what a league is. Compare government in the Delian League with that in the thirteen United States in 1783–1789. Locate Delos. Help children to work out a picture of the growth of Athens under the protection of the Delian League; help them to see the Athenian power reach out for commerce

to every part of the Mediterranean Sea, and return with hundreds of shiploads of produce to the markets of Athens, until Athens becomes a city of beautiful streets, beautiful buildings, beautiful sculpture, and beautiful language, expressed in oratory and literature.

2. **Art of Athens.** Study with children Pericles and his influence; biography of Pericles; the Propylæa; statue of Athena; Parthenon, — its location, its purpose; describe columns, architrave, frieze, cornice, pediment, rooms, cella, treasury, decorations. Have children work out the size of the Acropolis hill and compare with actual measurements in schoolhouse yard, or, if possible, with hills near home; then have them work out the stairways up the hill and the buildings upon the hill. In picturing the parts of the temples and other buildings, help children to get correct ideas of grace, beauty, and proportion. Study with pupils the three chief forms of Greek architecture (Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian) from pictures and actual buildings in their own towns and cities. In aiding them to appreciate Greek art have them mold various parts out of plaster of Paris or other material; help them to tell which type of column they like best and why; point out specimens of Greek art in their county and state buildings, on the streets of their cities, on various objects in their homes, as legs of piano, chairs, etc. Help children to sum up the chief ways that not only the Greeks but all peoples, more or less, have used to express beauty, as carving in stone (sculpture), building in stone (architecture), measuring in pleasing sound (music), expressing great thought in pleasing sound (oratory), expressing great thought in measured sound (poetry), expressing great thought by uniting beautiful colors in the right proportion (painting).

3. **Gymnastics or physical education.** Help children to work out the ideal of Greek education — a beautified soul

in a beautiful body. How does a healthy, clean body make a clean, growing mind? Tell pupils the age of Greek children when entering gymnasium; picture methods of instruction; racing and race course; wrestling; boxing; throwing the spear or quoit; jumping; bathing. Compare this ideal with the ideal of the Egyptians and Hebrews; with the monastic ideal of the Middle Ages; with the present ideal as worked out in our common schools and universities. Compare a girl's education at this time with her opportunity for an education at the present time.

4. **Mental education.** Explain to children its purpose, its nature, and its method, which is largely conversational; refer to Socrates as an example of the method of mental training; describe his physical characteristics; his life; the nature and manner of his teaching; the fidelity to his teaching; the attitude of his pupils and of the people in general toward him, and the reasons for it; his fate. Read to children in Plato the story of the death of Socrates. Sum up with children the true ideal of Greek life, and as an expression of this ideal teach them the following prayer uttered by Socrates: "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry. Anything more? That prayer, I think, is enough for me." "Ask the same for me," said Phædrus, his young friend, "for friends should have all things in common." Compare Socrates as a true teacher in the market place with Jesus working and teaching among the lowly, and with Lincoln in the country store. Why did common people especially like the stories of each, and why are their names never forgotten? Teach the children something of the lives of Plato and Aristotle, as examples of great thinkers, and help them to see in a simple

way by their own daily work and recitations how clear thinking and clear expression of thought are obtained and developed, and how great thinking and great acting make great men.

5. **Government.** Review briefly the growth of government from Homer's time, when the cities were ruled by kings, down to this time, when every free man takes some part in the government. Picture to children the place of the law-making and those who participate in it, — their age, number, classes; study the form of government (assembly), — meeting time, members, religious observations connected with it, leader, duties, manner of making and passing laws. Help children to compare the government of a small city state like Athens, where all met in a large square and voted directly for the candidate, with that of a large state like the one in which they live, where representatives of the people must meet. Define democracy, representative government, patriotism. Which would have the broader feeling of patriotism, one whose state was a little community, perhaps not more than six or eight miles square, or one who lived in a state as large as a state in America? Help children to see that the Greeks, because of their little state governments, never learning the lesson of how to build great states, quarreled very much among themselves and finally utterly ruined themselves politically in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.). Study the biographies of Aristides and Pericles, as examples of the best class of Greek patriots, and of Themistocles as one who betrayed his country. Compare the career of Themistocles to that of Benedict Arnold and the career of Aristides to that of Washington.

6. **Social life.** Picture to children a Greek theater, such as Dionysius's theater; note its size, the time of the performance, the number of people present, the actors and their dress. Tell students something of the great ideas

and ideals of life which the Greeks were teaching the people by means of the stage ; tell them and read to them, for example, the story of *Prometheus Bound*, and help them to see in a simple way how this story shows that all mankind has continually struggled to get more fire (i.e. light and power from heaven) and freedom in the world.

Picture the Olympic games: place, time, participants; roads to the place ; importance attached to the games by the state ; their purpose, — religious and educational ; preparation for the games. Help children to describe the various kinds of sports, the prizes and value set on them, and how it happened that the people could leave everything and attend the games. Thus show pupils that, notwithstanding Greece was filled with beauty in painting, architecture, sculpture, literature, oratory, and even music, all of this beauty was enjoyed by only the upper class: perhaps not more than one man in twenty participated fully in the beautiful life, while all the others were slaves. Lead pupils to see, however, that this was better than it was in the old civilizations of the valleys of the Nile and the Tigro-Euphrates, where perhaps not more than one in a thousand got a just reward for his labors. Review with pupils something of the life of Greece in her greatest beauty, from the time of Pericles down to the time of Alexander, and help them to sum up the chief things which Greece had worked out and deeply planted in the minds of her people.

IV. GREECE IN OLD AGE: ALEXANDER THE GREAT, — ABOUT 300 B.C.

1. **Introduction.** Note the time relation of this period to the Periclean period. How old was Greece now in centuries from Homer's time? Show children how Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other cities of Greece were weakened by contentions among themselves.

2. **Macedonia.** See location in reference to Sparta and Athens; general physical nature of the country; general nature of its people; degrees of civilization as shown in their tribes, agriculture, hunting, and fighting.

3. **Philip of Macedon.** Tell pupils of his life as a hostage in Thebes; note effect of this on the development of Philip: he becomes ambitious to conquer; creates the Macedonian phalanx (describe phalanx); sees the weakness of the Greek cities; decides to rule them himself; conquers them; they join him in plans to conquer their old enemy, Persia; he is killed before the plans are executed. Have children form a phalanx.

4. **Alexander the Great.** Now take up the career of Alexander as a ruler and as one who is to scatter over the vast Oriental world the blossoms and seed of Greek beauty and thought. Picture Alexander as a boy; story of the beautiful horse, Bucephalus; story of Alexander entertaining the ambassadors from Persia, his father's guests; his education, — commits to memory the *Iliad.* Tell pupils that at the age of twenty Alexander succeeded Philip of Macedon.

Study Alexander as a ruler and explain how the states conquered by his father try to take advantage of Alexander's youth, and revolt; how he speedily brings them to order, takes up his father's work, gathers an army, and moves to Persia. Compare army and country of Persia with those of Alexander. Study Alexander as conqueror, — early conquests and achievements; builds new Troy, Ilium; holds games in honor of Achilles; defeats the Persians at Granicus River, thus freeing the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Persian rule; cuts the Gordian knot and conquers Tyre. Describe the commercial strength and wealth of the city; the strength of its walls; the Greek's battering-ram; the effort to undermine the wall; the road through the sea to the island stronghold of Tyre; the conquered people massacred

and sold as slaves. Follow the march of Alexander; locate Alexandria; explain his division of the city among the Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians; describe his eastward march; his success at Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis; the spoils from Persepolis and their distribution; the pursuit of Darius.

Tell how Alexander was finally victorious after the death of Darius, and how he made the conquests secure by peopling the Eastern cities, marrying a Persian wife, and causing his soldiers to marry Persian women. Picture to children the feasts and ceremonies connected with these marriages; emphasize Alexander's interest in ancient learning and culture by telling how he sent back to his old teacher, Aristotle, specimens of plants and animals found in the East; study the effect of Eastern extravagance upon the more simple life of the Greeks; tell how Alexander murdered his best friend, Clitus, and finally picture Alexander's death and burial.

Lead children to follow carefully the march of Alexander on atlas or map; have them see of what importance to the civilization of all the East it was that he loved art and literature as well as conquest. Lead them to understand that Alexander, through his love for literature and his admiration for, and sympathy with, his great teacher, Aristotle, was not merely a rude warrior, but a representative of the rich life of thought and beauty embodied in the six or seven hundred years of all Greek history which had gone before. Thus help pupils to realize that just as Greece had received much of the early seeds of her civilization from the East through Phœnicia, so now, through Alexander, she was returning a thousandfold back to the old East, and inundating it, so to speak, with all the richness of her art, science, and philosophy. Picture to pupils that from three hundred years before the birth of Christ to about six hundred years after, there was spread out over the entire

Eastern world, including the Tigro-Euphrates valley, Egypt, Judea, Asia Minor, and all Greece, the richest and most beautiful culture developed in the world up to that time, and that this culture, language, and art spread and ripened and rooted itself through the old Oriental world and around the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea for a thousand years after the days of Alexander the Great.

5. **Alexandria.** Study with children the city of Alexandria as the meeting place between the East and the West; picture it as the center of learning of the whole civilized world; picture its library, gathered from Greece, Babylon, Jerusalem; the books of papyrus and the manner of securing them; the size of its library; the gems and spices brought from Arabia; the furs and fishes from the Baltic Sea; the silver from Spain. Describe the zoölogical and botanical gardens representing the plants and animals of the then-known world. Compare the difficulty of gathering plants and animals from the small world known at that time with the comparative ease of gathering them from the entire world now. What has brought about the difference? Trace with children the great trade routes between the Euphrates valley and the Nile, and point out Alexandria as the center of this trade; help children to gather, in imagination, the products from every quarter of the known world and sell them to new and vigorous peoples growing up in every harbor of the Mediterranean Sea. Compare the means and rapidity of travel of that day with the present, showing how the Greek tongue was spread all around the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea, many peoples being thus given the same animals, plants, laws, language, the same literature, and, to some degree, the same religious thought. Name the cities which have been great centers of civilization up to this time: Memphis and Thebes, on the Nile; Babylon, on the Euphrates; Tyre, at the eastern extremity of the

Mediterranean; Jerusalem, on the roadway between the Nile and the Euphrates; Athens, encircled by the islands of the Ægean Sea; Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile, the halfway station between the East and the West. Take any one of these ancient cities as an example, and compare its lighting, drainage, heating, fire protection, order, occupations of the people, and the like, with those of any city in the United States with which the children are familiar. Point out wherein they are alike and wherein different, and tell what has caused the difference.

Study the effect of the conquests of Alexander upon Greece proper, the known world, and upon posterity. Little Greece was dead as to independent government, but a greater Greece had arisen by the conquests of Alexander, and Greek beauty, science, and philosophy had become a part of human history. The life of ancient Greece had been carried to the East through Alexander; it will return to the West (1) by means of the mighty government of Rome, extending over valley, plain, and sea, till it becomes master of the Mediterranean; (2) by means of the Christian Church, gradually expanding till it covers and vitalizes all Europe; (3) by means of the free public school of America, till it has pressed into every nook and corner of the United States.

Name the most important thing which each country has worked out up to this time; for example, Egypt became a great storehouse for herself and the surrounding nations; she also set man to thinking about immortality and to building temples for his gods; Babylonia also was a storehouse for food for early man, and taught him to record his thoughts on tablets and cylinders; Phœnicia taught man to conquer the sea; Israel to think that one God ruled in the land of Israel; the Greeks led the world to its highest conception of beauty, and taught it to think on many of the great problems of life.

REFERENCES FOR THE THIRD GRADE

See General Note on Reference Books preceding first-grade references.

General Histories

BOTSFORD, G. W. History of Greece. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1889. $1.10.

A good text-book for the teacher's use.

BURY, J. B. * History of Greece. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1900. $1.25.

Full discussions. Especially good on geography of country and early times.

CURTIUS, ERNEST. History of Greece. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. 5 vols. $10.00.

An exhaustive, scholarly treatise, with an introductory chapter on the land and people.

DURUY, VICTOR. * History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. Boston, Estes & Lauriat, 1889. 8 vols. $48.00.

A comprehensive history of Greece. One of the very best popular histories, with well-selected and well-executed illustrations.

FELTON, C. C. Greece, Ancient and Modern. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1866. $5.00.

Good on the language, literature, social and political life.

FYFFE, C. A. History of Greece. (History Primers.) New York, American Book Company. 35 cents.

Very brief.

GUERBER, H. A. * Story of the Greeks (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1896. 60 cents.

Though slightly more difficult than the work of the Hardings, it can be read with interest and profit by some of the children of this grade.

HARDING, C. H. and S. B. * Stories of Greek Gods, Heroes, and Men (juv.). Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1897. 50 cents.

A primer of mythology and history, well adapted to the use of third-grade pupils as a supplementary reading book.

HERODOTUS and XENOPHON. Selections (edited by W. W. Goodwin and J. W. White). Boston, Ginn & Company. $1.50.

HOLM, ADOLF. History of Greece. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1894–1898. 4 vols. $10.00.

Comprehensive and scholarly.

KEMP, E. W. History for Graded and District Schools (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

MORRIS, CHARLES. Historical Tales: Greek (juv.). Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1896. $1.00.

The stories are a little difficult for the children themselves to read, but are well told.

MYERS, P. V. N. History of Greece. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1895. $1.00.

SHUCKBURGH, E. S. Greece, from the Coming of the Hellenes to A.D. 14. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. $1.50.

Lays stress upon the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks.

THUCYDIDES. (Ancient Classics for English Readers.) Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, n.d. 50 cents.

WALPOLE, A. S. History of Greece (juv.). New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1901. 60 cents.

YONGE, CHARLOTTE M. Young Folks' History of Greece. Boston, Lothrop Publishing Company, 1879. $1.50.

Special Periods

COX, G. W. *Athenian Empire. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. $1.00.

Readable and trustworthy.

COX, G. W. The Greeks and the Persians. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. $1.00.

GRANT, ARTHUR J. Greece in the Age of Pericles. (University Series.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. $1.25.

MAHAFFY, J. P. Alexander's Empire. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887. $1.50.

"It is one of the purposes of the book to show how considerably Rome was influenced by the ideas of conquered Greece." (Preface.)

TIMAYENIS, T. T. Greece in Times of Homer. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1885. $1.50.

Institutional life, including a good discussion of the Greek house.

XENOPHON. Retreat of the Ten Thousand: Story of the Anabasis, by C. Witt. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. $1.25.

Land, People, and Remains

ANDERSON, W. J., and SPIERS, R. P. Architecture of Greece and Rome. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. $7.50.

Authoritative, with fine illustrations.

BECKER, W. A. Charicles: or, Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1886. $1.25.

The social life of the Greeks is here presented in the form of a story, accompanied with explanatory notes.

BLUMNER, H. *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks. New York, Cassell & Company, 1893. $2.00.

Especially good to show the development of the institutional life.

CHURCH, A. J. *Pictures from Greek Life and Story (juv.). New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894. $1.25.

CHURCH, A. J. Three Greek Children (juv.). New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895. $1.25.

FALKE, JAKOB VON. Greece and Rome. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1882. $10.00.

Especially good for pictures and illustrations, but is, unfortunately, out of print.

Ginn's Classical Atlas. Boston, Ginn & Company, n.d. $1.25.

GUHL, E., and KONER, W. *Life of the Greeks and Romans. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1876. $2.50.

"Nowhere else can the student find so many facts in illustration of Greek and Roman methods and manners. The illustrations are admirable." (Adams.)

KIEPERT, HENRY. Atlas Antiquus. Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co., n.d. $1.50.

MAHAFFY, J. P. Old Greek Life. (History Primers.) New York, American Book Company, n.d. 35 cents.

Institutional life. Very brief. Good diagrams.

MAHAFFY, J. P. Social Life in Greece. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1888. $2.50.

MONROE, PAUL. Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1901. $2.25.

PECK, H. T. * Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities. New York, Harper & Bros., 1897. $6.00.

A reliable, up-to-date dictionary, covering every phase of Greek and Roman life, thought, history, and geography. Based on Smith and other well-known dictionaries.

TOZER, H. F. Classical Geography. (Literature Primers.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1877. 35 cents.

Is very usable.

Biography, Mythology, and Literature

BALDWIN, JAMES. Old Greek Stories (juv.). New York, American Book Company, 1895. 45 cents.

BURT, M. E., and RAGOZIN, Z. A. Herakles, the Hero of Thebes, and other Heroes (juv.). New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. 50 cents.

CLARKE, M. Story of Troy (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1897. 60 cents.

COOK, AGNES SPOFFORD. The Story of Ulysses (juv.) Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Company, 1897. 50 cents.

FIRTH, EMMA M. Stories of Old Greece (juv.). Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1894. 30 cents.

HALL, JENNIE. Four Old Greeks (juv.). Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co., 1901. $1.00.

Achilles, Herakles, Dionysos, Alkestis.

HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL. * Wonder Book, Tanglewood Tales, etc. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1879. New Wayside edition. $1.00.

There is scarcely a better book on Greek mythology for the teacher to read to the children.

HOMER. Iliad (translated by W. C. Bryant). Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. Student's ed. $1.00.

HOMER. Odyssey (translated by W. C. Bryant). Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899. Student's ed. $1.00.

JEBB, R. C. *Greek Literature. (Literature Primers.) New York, American Book Company, n.d. 35 cents.

An excellent little sketch.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES. *Greek Heroes (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1884. 30 cents.

NIEBUHR, B. G. Greek Hero-Stories (translated by B. Hoppin). New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1879. $1.00.

PLUTARCH. Lives. (Classics for Children.) Boston, Ginn & Company. 45 cents.

Lives of famous Greeks and Romans.

WHEELER, BENJAMIN IDE. Alexander the Great. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. $1.50.

WITT, C. Tales of Troy (translated and adapted by Charles De Garmo) (juv.). Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Company, 1891. 30 cents.

Homer in very simple form.

WRIGHT, J. H. (ed.). Masterpieces of Greek Literature : Homer, Tyrtaeus, etc. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902. $1.00.

OUTLINE OF THE FOURTH-GRADE WORK

The aim of the fourth-grade work is to present to children the following points on Roman history:

I. The geography of the country of Italy itself, and the relation of Rome and Italy to the entire country surrounding the Mediterranean Sea.

II. The problems which Rome fought out at home while yet in her infancy.

III. The problems which Rome fought out between infancy and manhood (about 450–264 B.C.).

IV. The struggle of Rome with her greatest rival, Carthage, for the control of the land and trade surrounding the Mediterranean (about 264–146 B.C.).

V. The decay and fall of Rome (about 150 B.C.–476 A.D.) and her chief contributions to the general stream of history, especially her gifts to the world (1) of the lesson of how to bind many peoples of different natures, tastes, and degrees of civilization into one peaceful, orderly, compact, central government, *with all political life centering at Rome*; (2) furnishing thus the great political framework of universal rule on earth as a model upon which the Christian Church took up the even greater task from the time of the birth of Christ down to the time of the Reformation, that is to say, for fifteen hundred years and more of *centering all religious life at Rome*, and of shaping all men's lives so as to fit them not only for earth but more especially for heaven. This was the greatest effort to unify mankind yet attempted in the world.

The Development of Rome

I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY

1. Study the location of Italy in relation to the country around the Mediterranean Sea.

2. Contrast the shape and immediate surroundings of Italy with the shape of Egypt, Babylonia, the land of the Jews, Phœnicia, and Greece. Which of these countries was best situated to rule the whole Mediterranean? Why?

3. Study the size of Italy. Compare it with Greece; with the state in which the pupils live.

4. Explain to children that the isolation of Italy by the Alps from the rest of Europe, and its water surroundings, made it in early times a good nesting place for the unhindered development of a civilization. By use of maps show children that just as the Alps cut off Italy from the rest of Europe for the first several hundred years and thus caused her to grow strong at home, so the fringe of Atlantic states in North America was cut off for nearly two hundred years from the Mississippi Valley by the Appalachian Mountains. Explain to children that for a long time this kept the Atlantic states bound all the closer together at home, and taught them in many ways how to think and fight and work together. Show them how a single great mountain chain tended to make Italy a united country. Compare Italy to Greece and Palestine in respect to mountains.

5. Study the Po River valley. Why did no great city grow up at its mouth, as at Alexandria, for example, or at the mouth of the Nile, or at Rome near the mouth of the Tiber, or at New York, or at New Orleans?

6. Have pupils see on map the Apennines as a backbone for Italy. Compare the regularity of the mountains of Italy with the great irregularity of those of Greece and note how

they cut Greece up into many parts while they helped make Italy a united country.

7. Contrast the eastern with the western slopes in Italy. Which has the best harbors? Study the relation of harbors to commerce; relation of commerce to wealth; relation of wealth rightly obtained and wisely used to nobility of character, both of the individual and of the nation.

8. Discuss the length and rapidity of flow of the rivers of Italy. Compare other Italian rivers with the Tiber as to length and fitness for commerce.

9. Explain the relation of the Tiber River to the plain of Latium in the production of a strong and wealthy people. Help pupils to draw a map of Rome and its surroundings. Study maps 21 and 22 in Longman's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*; also maps 1, 10, and 11 in Ginn's *Classical Atlas*.

10. Study with pupils the relation of the immediate geographical conditions of Rome — the muddy waters of the Tiber, the marshes, small, rich plains and valleys, mild climate, good soil, forests, stone from the hills, lava beds — to its development. Show the relation of stone to building aqueducts for fresh water and to giving Rome material out of which to build roads, bridges, and forts.

11. Have children understand the relation of Rome's conquest in the plain, and of its central position, to its final conquest and rule of the nations around the Mediterranean Sea. Pupils should realize that Italy is almost the center of the great Mediterranean basin, and that as Rome, spider-like, spun its mighty web of law and industry around the sea, she drew all peoples and streams of life and culture toward the common center — Rome — and bound them into one central, organic, compact life, and gave them one unified, national feeling such as the world had not seen or felt before.

II. ROME IN HER INFANCY, — ABOUT 753–450 B.C.

1. Briefly review the geography of Italy; compare it with that of the United States; with that of Greece. Compare eastern and western coast lines; call attention to the shape of Italy; to the harbor advantages which the coast line affords; to the rivers; to the valleys and their relation to the roads; to the surface and soil of the country; compare vegetable and animal products with those of Greece.

2. Study the city of Rome; the story of Romulus; the founding of the Roman family. Let children devise means for Romans to secure wives; locate on maps and spell names of Sabines and surrounding tribes; have them build, in imagination, the Roman Forum, and bring to it for trade all kinds of produce raised in the country. Show how trade between country and city would lead to roads, carts, wagons, horses, mules, weights, measures, and laws regulating the trade. Help children to see how Rome, in making laws on trade, building of roads, marriage, and the like, was developing The Twelve Tablets of the Law. Tell pupils what a constitution is, and what advantage there is in writing down a constitution. Study the character of Rome under Numa's reign; its religion; the sacred shields; Sibylline books. What kind of books had they in that day? Compare tablets of Romans with papyrus of Egyptians. Describe Rome under the Tarquins; wars with Porsena of Etruria; "Horatius at the Bridge" (see and memorize poem in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*); the nature of the typical Roman at this time, — stern, warlike, brave, honest, industrious, obedient. Compare the size of Rome in early times with the size of some town of perhaps four or five thousand inhabitants and fifteen or twenty miles of conquered territory surrounding it; roughly estimate the size of the population and of the army; provide means for supporting the troops in the

field; discuss whether, at first, a plebeian or a patrician officer would lead the troops; help pupils to work out a plan for the plebeians to get a share in leading the army. As a typical story of the simple life of this time, tell the children the story of Cincinnatus. Tell them who was called

> The first, the last, the best,
> The Cincinnatus of the West,

and why.

The plan suggested here is to help pupils to take up in a simple way the real problems which confronted the two classes — patricians and plebeians — from one generation to another during the first three hundred years of growth.

3. Picture to pupils a plebeian farm and compare it in size with the average farm in the state where the child lives. Picture its soil; drainage; products; crops of the vine and the olive; garden vegetables, — lettuce, turnips, onions, cabbage, etc.; chickens; bees; cattle; sheep; cereals, — wheat, millet, rye, barley. Describe the implements for harvesting, such as the plow and the flail; imagine the threshing and storing of grain, the preparation of it for food, and the weights and measures used on a farm. Have children picture the house with its surrounding sheds, granaries, and coops; describe the work in the house, — spinning, weaving, cooking, sewing. Explain the two classes of people in early Rome, — patricians and plebeians.

The plan of the work here is to take a typical plebeian farm, which was about four acres in size, and, by careful study of the various phases of life upon it, lead the child to see and feel the dignity in which labor was held by the early Roman, and to enter into the real agricultural life of the plain, simple, sturdy farmer of the early centuries of Rome. Compare their earnest, self-reliant life at this time with that of the early pioneers in our West, or with the sturdy life which grew up on the Atlantic slope from about 1600 to

1750. In what respect were they alike and in what different? Which was more free? In which did the common man have the best chance to make the most out of his life?

The pupil should be led to enter, with genuine spirit, into seeing how much could be grown on four acres of land, and how large a family could be supported from such a farm under favorable circumstances; then he should be led to work out the misfortunes which might come to the owner,—for example, the mountaineers might come down and steal his chickens, goats, and pigs, burn his house, or destroy his grain; he might be called to the army just at seeding or reaping time; he might fall sick, etc. After the pupils have seen how one might have these misfortunes befall him, then let them devise ways to help him out; thus comes his borrowing money and in many cases failure to pay back; also loss of land and imprisonment for debt; then, in imagination, help the plebeians in their struggle to get the harsh laws of debt, imprisonment, taxation, and unreasonable army service changed; this leads to the struggle in Rome, and especially in the Roman Senate, between the plebeians and patricians. Here help children to understand the terms of lawmaking or *legislation*, of carrying out the laws or *executing* them, of interpreting them when they are not clear, or *judging* when they are broken. Teach children the meaning of patrician and plebeian. It is always pleasanter and more profitable, for children, to help them work out simple problems than it is to teach them by mere narration. The children can never derive the benefit they should from history till they are led to create for themselves the conditions surrounding the people whom they are studying, and are led to struggle with them and to live, in imagination, their lives over again.

> What you from your ancestors inherit
> Earn it again in order to possess it.
>
> GOETHE

III. ROME BETWEEN INFANCY AND MANHOOD,— ABOUT 450–264 B.C.

1. When the child has seen and felt the slow but sure growth of Rome (and the more sure because slow) through the first three hundred years, when she was not larger than an average county in one of the American states, he is ready to understand her rapid expansion for the next hundred and fifty years, during which she conquers every enemy in Italy, binds them all to her by law and industry, and thus becomes the most solid and compact state which the world has yet seen.

2. Help the children to trace Rome's steady movement over the entire peninsula of Italy, building roads, bridging streams, erecting forts, protecting farmers, and teaching a love for industry, law, and order. Help them to see whether this would require more officers for carrying on the government. Tell pupils the names, duties, and powers of the officers, both plebeian and patrician, which developed in Rome from about 450 to 250 B.C. Study maps 18 and 19 in Longman's *Atlas*, and maps 10 and 11 in Ginn's *Classical Atlas*.

3. Help children to realize the stubborn but lawful struggle of the plebeian which went on in Rome at this period and finally made it possible for the plebeians to secure leadership in the army (as consuls), to help assess the property and determine the rank of the citizens (as censors), to help make the laws in the Senate, secure tribunes, and become powerful in the government themselves; to obtain the right of intermarriage with the patricians, right to become priests, take the auspices, and offer sacrifices. Help children to point out those things which will make the common people have a better chance (1) to get and hold personal freedom; (2) to get and hold property; (3) to hold to life itself; (4) to take a place in the state and help govern themselves.

4. Lead children into the spirit of the work by encouraging and helping them to make some of the most characteristic implements for war, for the farm, and for the home, used at this time by the Romans, — a sword, a plow, a tablet, etc.

IV. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE, — 264–146 B.C.

1. Help children to see the important territorial changes since Rome was in her infancy; the extent of country controlled by Rome before the beginning of the war; the extent of country controlled by Carthage; help them to estimate the distance of Carthage from Rome and the time and cause of war. Picture to children the vast commerce of Carthage, coming from every quarter of the world; also the commerce of Rome; show pupils Sicily lying between these two mighty powers, as the immediate cause of their great struggle. Study the climate, soil, plants, animals, and other geographical conditions of Sicily, and help children to judge whether the country is worth fighting over.

2. **The Carthaginians,** — from Phœnicia; tell the story of Queen Dido. Study the commerce of Carthage; the Carthaginian form of government as compared with that of Rome; the army, — largely made up of hired troops; the religion; the colonies; the sympathy between Carthage and her colonies as compared with that between Rome and her colonies. In which was there the greatest patriotism, and why?

3. **The First Punic War.** Show how Rome aided the Mamertines in Sicily; describe her defeat of Carthage at Messina and Agrigentum; her defeat of Carthage at sea. Describe for children a real engagement on ships; the size of ships; tell the story of Regulus; of the final success of Rome; of what Rome gained in territory and in money. Teacher and pupil should make constant use of maps and historical atlases.

4. **The Second Punic War.** Have pupils see that after a period of twenty-three years Carthage weakened because she was not able to form a strong union between herself and her colonies, and because of lack of strong national support at home. Work out in detail with children the story of Hamilcar Barca and his son Hannibal. Have children compare their own ages and education with that of Hannibal when he took the oath to be an eternal enemy of Rome; help them to feel as he felt and to enter into the spirit of the time as he and his father did, and then start with Hannibal in Spain and accompany him on his long march from Spain to Italy. Help children to see the size of the army; let them devise means for supplying it with food and for getting both men and elephants across the Rhone River; then show how Hannibal outwitted the Gauls, who lined the banks on the opposite side of the river and tried to keep him from crossing. As nearly as possible help children to see the Alps as they were in October and November, when, it is thought, the men and elephants crossed them, — barren, covered with ice, and only narrow, rocky paths over which to climb; lead them to devise means for feeding the army and animals as they cross, for getting the elephants over the narrow passes, for protecting the army against the hostile mountain tribes; thus lead children to march through Italy with Hannibal, fighting battles with him from year to year, gathering forage, spending winters with the army in camp, trying to get the Roman colonists to desert Rome, trying to get help from Carthage. Have pupils tell what qualities they most like in Hannibal, and why.

Now take the children, in imagination, into the Roman Senate, and help them to picture the lives of the Roman people throughout all Italy at this most critical time of her struggle with her shrewdest and wisest enemy, Hannibal.

Help them to see hundreds of thousands of free, industrious farmers scattered throughout the valleys and over the hillsides of Italy, cultivating the farms which their fathers and grandfathers owned, and which they themselves now proudly own; follow, in thought, the network of roads and fortresses which binds all Italy in peace, order, and affection to her protecting parent, Rome; describe the quinqueremes that come and go from the harbors of the western Mediterranean, laden with goods brought from the four quarters of the earth and poured by free citizens into the lap of Rome; and thus help pupils to see Rome giving her life, through free institutions, to her children.

Then, as a typical example of the courage, loyalty, and self-sacrifice with which the Romans gave their lives for their country, picture in detail the battle of Cannæ: the cavalry with sword and armor; the infantry with spear, sword, and plumes, black and red, a foot and a half high; the elephants; the battering-rams and camp equipment; the skirmishing; the fierce engagement; the heroic struggle hand to hand, till, out of 87,000 Roman soldiers, Emilius, a consul, Minucius, the master of the horse, 80 senators, and all but 10,000 men were captured or lay dead upon the field of battle. Now, with the Roman army annihilated, lead pupils to see with what unshaken courage the Roman Senate received the news, levied fresh troops from her citizen soldiers, even from her criminals and her slaves, and organized her old men, and boys under seventeen, into military bands for the defense of the capital. Study the results of the Punic wars, sixty years and more in length, taking the farmers from their farms, and, these farms being bought by rich men, putting slaves upon them instead of free laborers. Help children to work out the age of Rome at the close of the Second Punic War (202 B.C.) in centuries, half centuries, and generations; then lead them to follow Rome's

expansion to the East, finally conquering Carthage (146 B.C.) and then Macedonia. Study the biographies of Hannibal and Fabius.

V. THE DECAY AND FALL OF ROME, — ABOUT 150 B.C.–476 A.D.

1. How far from the infancy of Rome was its decay and fall estimated in centuries, half centuries, and generations? Help children to see by the map how Rome for the next two hundred years after the close of the Second Punic War expands to the east, conquers her great enemies, — Carthage, Greece, Macedonia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, Israel, Babylonia, northern Africa, — and likewise moves to the west and northwest, conquering Spain, the Gauls, the Britains, and thus becoming the complete master of the then-known world, ruling with one mighty hand from the mouth of the Euphrates River in the far-off Orient to the mouth of the Tay in the land of the Scots, and from the deserts of Africa to the German forests. Thus picture to children Rome marching over the entire world, building roads, plundering cities and building others, establishing agriculture, teaching her laws, and becoming acquainted with the customs, life, manners, luxuries, and vices of the cultivated Greek, the luxurious Oriental, and the barbaric Gaul. Show children a stream of officers ever flowing from Rome to the remotest corners of the world, — to England, Gaul, Spain, northern Africa, Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Greece, — sent there as rulers, giving peace and order at first, but, as the centuries moved on, becoming as corrupt, greedy, and oppressive as any ever known in the world's history.

Show children a stream of culture flowing from the old Orient, notwithstanding this greed and vice, but especially from Greece, giving to Rome a broadness, richness, and liberality of view far beyond what she had ever dreamed of

before the Punic wars; but with this stream of culture likewise pouring into Rome we see an ever-broadening stream of idle, vicious, and corrupt slaves, degraded women, and selfish politicians, who no longer cared for the great Roman state except as it furthered their own narrow and selfish ends.

Help pupils to see in imagination a great Roman slave farm of this time, with its vineyards, olive orchards, pastures, horses, and cattle; compare it with a farm in the days of Cincinnatus, or in the days before the beginning of the Punic wars. Help pupils to see the rich owner, the overseer, the slave hunter, and the gang of slaves on a plantation. Would the farm life be as pure, healthy, energetic, honest, moral, and patriotic when carried on by a great mass of unmarried slaves as when carried on by hundreds of thousands of self-reliant, self-sacrificing farmers living with their families on their own four-acre farms? Give picture of Roman baths; amphitheaters; games; gladiators; circus. (See picture, "A Chariot Race," Vol. I, *Great Men and Famous Women;* also "The Last Gladiatorial Contest.")

2. The last struggles of republican Rome; the Gracchi trying to restore the common people. Study the lives of Cato and the Gracchi as examples of brave and patriotic efforts to restore Rome to the simple, honest, industrial life of earlier days. (See picture, "The Mother of the Gracchi," Vol. III, Horne.) Marius tries to secure one-man power; Sulla secures one-man power and restores the Senate. Show pupils how the struggles of many selfish politicians of Rome make it necessary to take all power out of the hands of these selfish men and put it into the hands of one patriotic statesman. Thus lead up to and study the life of Julius Cæsar as the representative of the greatest statesmen of the Roman world, struggling in an ocean of vice, selfishness, slavery, and immorality of both men and women, to restore

the strength, vigor, patriotic feeling, domestic chastity, and purity, of Rome in her best days. Help children to see that to accomplish this, Rome gave up her great ideal of a republic, in which the people should rule, for the ideal of an empire, in which one man should rule with an iron hand. Show them that Rome, ruling as an empire for five hundred years, impressed on the world as no other people has ever done the great model for one-man power. Show children that this model not only served to govern in the state, but likewise served to put into the minds of men the idea of a universal ruler in the world of religion, and thus prepared the way for the rule of Christ to become universal over the world, as had been the rule of Rome. Study the biography of Julius Cæsar, Augustus Cæsar, Trajan, and Constantine. Study map 12, Ginn's *Classical Atlas;* maps 19 and 20, Longman's *Atlas of Ancient Geography.*

REFERENCES FOR THE FOURTH GRADE

See general note on reference books preceding first-grade references.

General Histories of Rome

Andrews, Jane. Ten Boys Who Lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1885. 50 cents.

Arnold, W. T. Roman System of Provincial Administration. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1877. $2.00.
An admirable, scholarly treatment.

Bury, J. B. * History of the Roman Empire (27 B.C.–180 A.D.). New York, American Book Company, 1893. $1.50.

Butterworth, Hezekiah. * Little Arthur's History of Rome (juv.). New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1892. $1.25.

Creighton, M. * History of Rome. (History Primers.) New York, American Book Company, 1888. 35 cents.

Duruy, Victor. History of Rome and the Roman People. London, Kegan Paul, 1883–1886. 6 vols. 30 shillings per vol.
Comprehensive, readable, and reliable. Fine illustrations.

GILMAN, ARTHUR. Story of Rome to 31 B.C. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889. $1.75.

GUERBER, H. A. * The Story of the Romans (juv.). New York, American Book Company, 1896. 60 cents.

HARDING, C. H., and S. B. City of the Seven Hills (juv.). Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1900. 50 cents.

HOW, W. W., and LEIGH, H. D. History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. $2.00.

KEMP, E. W. History for the Graded and District Schools (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

MERIVALE, CHARLES. * General History of Rome, 753 B.C.–476 A.D. New York, American Book Company, 1876. $1.25.

"He shows a masterly group of materials, and he has the rare gift of knowing what is best to omit." (Adams.)

MOMMSEN, THEODOR. * History of the Roman Republic (abridged by C. Bryans and E. J. R. Hendy). New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. $1.75.

It is preëminently a constitutional history, — one of the great authorities.

MORRIS, CHARLES. Historical Tales: Roman (juv.). Philadelphia, Lippincott Company, 1896. $1.25.

MYERS, P. V. N. Rome: its Rise and Fall. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1901. 2d edition. $1.25.

PRATT, MARIA L. Stories of Old Rome (juv.). Boston, Educational Publishing Company, 1896. 60 cents.

SEIGNOBOS, CHARLES. * History of the Roman People. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1902. $1.25.

"To each chapter has been appended a short list of sources in English and of suggestions for parallel reading." (Preface.)

TIGHE, AMBROSE. * Development of the Roman Constitution. (History Primers.) New York, American Book Company, 1888. 35 cents.

YONGE, CHARLOTTE M. Young Folks' History of Rome. Boston, Lothrop Publishing Company, 1878. $1.50.

Source Books

BOTSFORD, G. W. Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans tell It: an elementary source book. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1903. 90 cents.

CHURCH, A. J. Stories from Livy (juv.). New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., n.d. 75 cents.

GREENIDGE, A. H. J. Sources for Roman History, 133–70 B.C. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903. 5 shillings, 6 pence.

MUNRO, D. C. *Source Book of Roman History. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1904. $1.00.

See also Plutarch and Suetonius, below.

Special Periods

BEESLY, A. H. Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1886. $1.00.

CAPES, W. W. *Early Empire, from the Assassination of Julius Cæsar to that of Domitian, 44 B.C.–96 A.D. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. $1.00.

Covers the period from Augustus to Domitian and is written in a fascinating style.

CAPES, W. W. *Roman Empire of the Second Century. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. $1.00.

Especially worthy of note on early Christians, and on the imperial government.

GIBBON, EDWARD. History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (edited by J. B. Bury). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1896. 7 vols. $14.00.

Comprehensive and extraordinary in scholarship.

IHNE, WILHELM. Early Rome. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. $1.00.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES. Roman and the Teuton. London, The Macmillan Company, 1897. $1.25.

A stimulating volume.

SMITH, R. B. Rome and Carthage: the Punic Wars. (Epochs of Ancient History.) New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1887. $1.00.

Land, People, and Remains

BECKER, W. A. Gallus; or, Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. $1.25.

In the form of a story, with illustrative notes. The author ranks high as an authority.

CHURCH, A. J. Pictures from Roman Life and Story (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1892. $1.50.

Ginn's Classical Atlas. Boston, Ginn & Co., n.d. $1.25.

GOODYEAR, W. H. Roman and Mediæval Art. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1897. $1.00.

GUHL, E., and KONER, W. *Life of the Greeks and Romans. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1876. $2.50.

"Nowhere else can the student find so many facts in illustration of Greek and Roman methods and manners. The illustrations are admirable." (Adams.)

JUDSON, H. P. Cæsar's Army: a Study of the Military Art of the Romans in the Last Days of the Republic. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1894. $1.00.

KIEPERT, HENRY. Atlas Antiquus. Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co., n.d. $1.50.

MAU, AUGUST. Pompeii: Its Life and Art. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904. $2.50.

Good descriptions and fine illustrations of a Roman city, including public buildings, private houses, trades, tombs, and art.

PECK, H. T. *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities. New York, Harper & Bros., 1897. $6.00.

A reliable, up-to-date dictionary, covering every phase of Greek and Roman life, thought, history, and geography. Based on Smith and other well-known dictionaries.

PELLISON, MAURICE. Roman Life in Pliny's Time. Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs, 1897. $1.00.

PLATNER, S. B. Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1904. $3.00.

PRESTON, H. W., and DODGE, L. *The Private Life of the Romans. Boston, Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 1893. $1.25.
Institutional life. Illustrations good.

SHUMWAY, E. S. Day in Ancient Rome. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1897. 75 cents.
A short, interesting sketch of Roman life.

TOZER, H. F. Classical Geography. (Literature Primers.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1877. 35 cents.
Is very usable.

WILKINS, A. S. Roman Antiquities. (History Primers.) New York, American Book Company, 1887. 35 cents.
Institutional life of early Romans, with illustrations and diagrams.

WILKINS, A. S. Roman Education. Cambridge, University Press, 1905. 2 shillings.

Biography

CLARKE, M. *Story of Cæsar (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1898. 45 cents.
A good supplementary reader for this grade, with illustrations.

DAVIDSON, J. L. S. Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894. $1.50.

DODGE, T. A. Hannibal: a History of the Art of War among the Carthaginians and Romans. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896. $5.00.
Contains detailed account of the second Punic War. Well written.

FIRTH, J. B. Augustus Cæsar and the Organization of the Empire of Rome. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903. $1.35.

FOWLER, W. W. Julius Cæsar. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891. $1.50.

OMAN, C. W. C. *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic: the Gracchi, Sulla, Crassus, Cato, Pompey, Cæsar. London, Edward Arnold, 1902. 6 shillings.

Plutarch. * Lives. (Classics for Children.) New York, Ginn & Company, n.d. 45 cents.

Suetonius. Lives of the Cæsars. (Bohn Library.) New York, The Macmillan Company, 1893. $1.50.

Mythology and Literature

Clarke, M. Story of Æneas (juv.). (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1898. 45 cents. Adapted to children.

Gayley, C. M. Classic Myths. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1894. $1.65.

Guerber, H. A. Myths of Greece and Rome. New York, American Book Company, 1893. $1.50.

Laing, G. J. (ed.). Masterpieces of Latin Literature, with Biographical Sketches and Notes. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. $1.00.

Mackail, J. W. * Latin Literature. (University Series.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. $1.25.

OUTLINE OF THE FIFTH-GRADE WORK

The plan of the fifth-grade work is to deal with three chief ideas :

I. The life of the early Teuton in the woods : local self-government (about 450, to Charlemagne, 800 A.D.).

II. The life of the early Teuton in the Church : the monastery (about 450–1100 A.D.).

III. The life of the early Teuton in the castle : feudalism and chivalry (about 450–1100 A.D.).

The Development of the Teutonic Race

I. THE LIFE OF THE EARLY TEUTON IN THE WOODS : LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT, — ABOUT 450, TO CHARLEMAGNE, 800 A.D.

1. Review the chief ideas as developed in the fourth grade with a view to leading pupils to see that the main thought of government in the last five hundred years of Roman history came to be that of a strong center, — that is, that one man should rule the many. Explain what is meant by despotism, and show how one-man rule may lead to despotism. Show what despotism in school or family government would mean.

Study the biography of Augustus Cæsar and observe how he appointed, either directly or indirectly, the officers who ruled the city of Rome and those who went to the several provinces of the empire to rule and judge the people and to gather taxes. Explain how Rome "farmed out" the taxes, and compare this scheme with the method of

raising taxes in the United States, or in a state, county, or city where the children live. Observe how the emperor ruled the Senate till it became a body without independent life. Compare the weakness of the Senate at the time of Augustus with its strength at the time of Hannibal.

Lead the pupils to see that the emperors caused themselves to be worshiped as gods, and had statues erected to themselves throughout the Roman empire. How would this assist them in establishing despotic rule?

2. Study the life of the Teuton, with the purpose, on the part of the teacher, of leading pupils to see that the essence of every phase of Teutonic life was that of *self*-government. Compare this principle of government with the Roman principle.

3. **Early geographical surroundings.** By the use of maps show the country over which the Teutons spread, — its climate, mountains, rivers, seas, marshes, woods, animals. Show how these agencies would tend to make the Teuton self-reliant. Compare Europe with the United States and say whether, taken as a whole, it is broken up into many parts, or is geographically united, like the central portion of the United States, or the Nile valley, for example.

4. **Early Teutonic village life.** The typical unit of settlement amongst the Teutons (of which the Anglo-Saxon was one of the chief tribes) was the village. It contained some ten to thirty houses, clustered (but never adjoining) in an irregular group, in the center of a patch of cultivated ground broken up into large, uninclosed fields. The tillable land of the fields was divided into a great number of strips, usually from a half acre to an acre each. These strips were rigidly divided amongst the villagers, the share of each being in exact proportion to the number of members of the family; the strips which any single person received did not lie together, but were scattered about. The farmers of the

village, all working together, plowed these fields with eight-oxen plows, each one contributing his share of labor, oxen, yokes, etc. In sowing and in reaping the harvest each had certain strips which he worked by himself and called his own. Beyond the field which could be cultivated were meadow lands, which the farmers shared in proportion to their tillable land, and used for pasture and hay. Sometimes they fenced them in during the pasture and hay time, but usually they were left open. Beyond these fields again were the woodlands and waste, to which all might go in common to get wood, to hunt, and to fish. This was the typical unit of settlement throughout all western Europe during the time that the Teuton was establishing his agricultural home; that is to say, from the fall of Rome, about 450 A.D., down to Charlemagne, about 800 A.D. Study the above description with a view of understanding the principle of equal rights that existed in the organization of this village life, and form the foundation upon which all the free institutions of the Teutonic world were built. For further material see the author's *History for Graded and District Schools.*

5. **The Teutonic moot court and the Wittenagemot.** Explain the method of taxation. Did the early Teuton tax himself? How did his principle of taxation correspond with that for which the American colonists fought in the Revolutionary War? Compare his local government with the township government of New England or the early local government as it was worked out in the northern Mississippi valley states. Help children to choose from all the wise men of a tribe a Wittenagemot, and talk about some of the questions of hunting, fishing, worshiping, governing, which would come up in this early lawmaking assembly. In a general way compare these questions with the questions which would arise in a great legislative assembly of the present time in England or the United States.

6. **Teutonic religion.** Have children give the names and characteristics of the principal Teutonic gods and goddesses, — Thor, Woden, Tyr, etc. Show the relation of the Teuton's natural surroundings to his religious ideas and gods. Why did the Teuton worship the oak tree? Compare with the Egyptian worshiping the Nile. Did the Teutons build churches or worship in the woods? Compare their places of worship with ours. Did they have anything like our Bible? Would it be easy to get them to take up a different religion from their own, since they had not written theirs down, nor built permanent churches in which to worship? In teaching them a new religion would they have to be taught by object lessons, like children? What effect would this childlike method have in introducing forms and ceremonies in religious practices? Thus, in a simple way, lead the pupils to see these early Teutons and sympathize with them as they wandered through the woods and, like children, heard the thunders, saw the lightnings and storms, and amid the forces of nature struggled to bring themselves into sympathy with them.

7. **Early Teutonic social life.** Picture to pupils the social life and customs among the early Teutons; their personal appearance; dress; strength; food; weapons of warfare; the relation of warrior to chief. Compare the election of a chief in the early German woods to the choice of a governor or president in the United States. In essence is it the same or different? Discuss with children the effect of continual war upon agriculture, commerce, schools, government. Could these exist in an advanced state while the Teutonic tribes were continually at war, say from 500 to 700 B.C.? Let children make battle-ax, longbow, shortbow, sling, spear, sword. Compare the Teuton's respect for woman with that of the Greeks and Romans, and see the effect of this upon the development of the spirit of chivalry centuries later.

II. THE LIFE OF THE EARLY TEUTON IN THE CHURCH: THE MONASTERY, — ABOUT 450-1100 A.D.

1. **General view of the early Teuton.** Review briefly the life of the Teuton, spread through the woods of all western and northwestern Europe, before he had been touched by Christianity and while he was still worshiping the Teutonic gods and goddesses.

2. **Growth of the early Christian.** Follow the slow growth of Christianity from its founding in the manger of Bethlehem till it spread through persecution and struggle and finally became in 325 A.D. the adopted religion of the great Roman Empire. Help children to see in this first slow, painful, but ever-increasing growth of three hundred years the central idea of Christianity — the idea of the universal brotherhood of all men — which made it so immortal. Review with children the great steps which have been taken in the history of the world already studied, and help them to see that, notwithstanding great religious truths had been sometimes dimly, sometimes clearly, seen by peoples in the past, yet when Jesus said all mankind are brothers, and therefore every one should do to every other as he would wish that other to do to him, he set up an ideal of life which may, if followed, give not only perfect life in this world but eternal life in the world to come. Study the life of Jesus and St. Paul and see their attitude toward industry, religion, government, education, and home. Make clear that they both exalted the dignity and nobility of manual labor; contrast their teachings with the teachings of Aristotle and Plato, both of whom taught that manual labor for the free man was ignoble and base. Connect the industrious lives of Jesus and Paul with the industry of the early Church as it grew up in the monasteries in northern and western Europe. Show children that as a great idea

like Christianity grows, there are officers and offices which grow up with the idea and help to spread it; thus help them to see how the idea of universal love and brotherhood taught by Jesus spread by means of many officers of the Church, — pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and presbyters, — first around the Mediterranean Sea, as old Rome had done, then westward through all Europe, then westward across the Atlantic into America, and finally seeks to spread over the whole world, — in other words, seeks to become universal or catholic. Show children that the first center of this great idea — Christianity — was Jerusalem; its second, Rome, where for generations there grew up a powerful Church with great ideas, purposes, and services to humanity; and third, that the Christian Church as it has grown has established its centers and work not only in Jerusalem and Rome but in every quarter of the world.

Tell the pupils some of the principal facts about the slow progress and severe persecutions of the early Christians in the first centuries; tell them of the missionaries starting out to convert the whole Roman and Teutonic world; have them name the officers of the early Church and their duties; dwell upon the unselfish lives of those who went as civilizers into the woods of northern and western Europe to make the gentle and self-sacrificing life of Jesus known and universally followed. Explain the word "catholic." How could the principles for which Jesus stood be made catholic?

3. **Effects of geographical surroundings on early growth of Christianity.** Show the relation in Europe of heavy woods, marshes, cold climate, to the necessity of working together to overcome these obstacles. Compare these natural features to those in the Nile valley, and tell where the people would have to work hardest for a living.

4. **The early monastic life.** Take up the monastery as one of the greatest agents by which these barbarians are taught their early lessons of civilization. Study in detail the parts of the monastery and the work done in it. What did the monks write upon? How were papyrus, vellum, and parchment made? Show children parchment and compare its price with the price of paper. Did the monks bind the books, and if so, with what material? Picture in detail the daily life in and around a monastery, — one reading aloud from a manuscript, others copying what was read; some as bookbinders; some as farmers; some as gardeners; some as visitors of the sick in the neighborhood; some as warriors resisting the savages; some making medicines from herbs; some curing diseases with sacred relics. Compare this life with the early life in New England or some western state, when the first settlers were clearing the fields, draining the swamps, exploring the rivers, establishing schools and churches. In what way were these two phases of life alike? In what way different?

Historical Material for Teachers

All the time from about 450 to 1100 A.D. the chief materials for writing purposes were papyrus, made from a plant chiefly found in Egypt, and vellum, made of the skin of the calf or sheep. The monks manufactured all these materials in the monastery, and such monks as could not read or write were engaged in binding the books, either in wood or leather. These writing materials were very costly, and hence but few persons could afford to have books, even if they had a taste for them, which generally they did not have. The better educated monks, however, through the Middle Ages, copied and recopied Latin and Greek manuscripts, the books of the Bible, and especially those of the New Testament, the writings of the early great

leaders of the Christian Church, called the Church Fathers, and fragmentary writings of various other kinds. They thus became largely the connecting link between the life of Greece, Rome, Palestine, and Egypt, studied in the first four grades, and that of the modern world. The monk and the monastery slowly carried the rich life which, in ancient times, had grown up on the Mediterranean Sea, northward over the Alps, and scattered the seed among the Teutons, where it gradually developed into new life. Moreover, the monks were the early farmers of Europe; they cleared the woods, ditched the ground, introduced new seeds of grains, flowers, and herbs, just as our great-grandfathers did on the Atlantic seacoast one hundred and fifty years ago, or as our grandfathers did seventy-five years ago in the broad Mississippi valley. In their farming and gardening work they found many herbs which would cure disease; they industriously cultivated these, made medicines from them, and attempted to combine in their missionary work remedies for the body with remedies for the soul.

In these dark days when there were no hospitals for the sick and the unfortunate, as we have now, the monks lavished every care and attention upon the sick. Every monastery was a hospital; there was an almshouse in every one; and great numbers of monks and priests left their cloisters and dioceses to wander through the land, devoting themselves to the relief and solace of the suffering sick and poor. No one can understand the history of these times unless he appreciates the great good done by the monasteries in these dark days. They hung up, as it were, lanterns, by whose flickering gleams the ignorant children of the woods slowly groped their way from darkness into light.

In the period we are now studying, the monks as we have seen, in curing disease, used medicines; they likewise

used prayers, holy water, touching of relics, pilgrimages to holy places, a cap, a handkerchief, a fragment of clothing, once possessed by a saint, and the like. This led them to gather into the monasteries many sacred relics, and gave inspiration and impulse after a while, as we shall see, to the crusading spirit, — that is, to zeal for relic hunting in the Holy Land. This travel to the East and around the borders of the Mediterranean had a powerful effect of bringing new ideas and enlightenment to the western world. Thus the monks became in a large measure the real civilizers of the time; and during the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries A.D., when the Teutonic barbarians cared for little but war and plunder, the monastery was throwing about them its quiet influence, gradually lifting them up from rudeness and ignorance to a happier and more peaceful life. Oftentimes the monks, in order to get the barbarians to understand their religious teaching, had to teach by illustrations and object lessons, just as we teach children, and thus many forms and ceremonies somewhat similar to what the barbarians had used in their own religious practices were adopted and used. This tended, after a while, as the ages went on, to make Christianity lose some of its early simplicity, as Christ had taught and practiced it, and to become more or less formal and ceremonial.

Several hundred years from this time, just after Columbus discovered America, some of the descendants of these Teutons we are now studying objected to various forms and ceremonies which had gradually crept into the Church, and tried to go back and find out how the very early Christians thought and worshiped. These earnest men made an effort to bring about a simpler, less ceremonial form of worship, and to get the people to rely more upon themselves in thinking out and living a religious life, and

less upon the leaders of the Church. This effort is called the Reformation. Study the biographies of St. Benedict, St. Dominic, and St. Francis.

The Historical Attitude

The teacher who succeeds in teaching the early life of the Christian Church or the monastery, for example, in such a way as to make children derive real benefit from the work, must first enter into genuine sympathy with the Church and its problems, or with the mighty civilizing influence of the best of monastic life, and with the difficulties under which the monk labored. He must see him as the real civilizer of the time. He must, in a sense, make of himself in imagination a very monk, in order to teach the monastic life to children.

If the teacher approaches the subject feeling and teaching merely that the monk was a peculiar being, having long hair, wearing the roughest kind of clothing, living in caves, eating scarcely enough to keep him from starving, standing on the top of pillars or in thorn trees for self-punishment, and doing other foolish things, — if he sees these things and nothing more, he had better leave the subject; he will do children no good by attempting to teach it. Children are most benefited in historical work by living over again, in imagination, the life lived by the people whom they are studying. Pupils must see the circle of surroundings as far as possible, both physical and mental, and must enter into the problems and judge the actions of men by the time in which these men lived, not by nineteenth-century standards or, worse, by some abstract standard. The lives and influences of men are good or bad in history according as they help to advance the people among whom they live at a given time and place. Thus the teacher would not teach that everything the monk did was the wisest thing to do,

but that the monastic life had its place, and a great one, in the long chain of civilization. It is by giving children some such ideas as these that they gradually come to possess a broad, sympathetic, and tolerant feeling towards the best in all forms, faiths, creeds, and religions. Such study helps children to feel and gradually realize in their daily conduct with others that

> Truth is one,
> And in all lands beneath the sun
> Whoso hath eyes to see may see
> The tokens of its unity.

III. THE LIFE OF THE EARLY TEUTON IN THE CASTLE: FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY, — ABOUT 450-1100 A.D.

1. **Teutonic love of individual freedom.** Review with pupils the picture of the Teuton wandering through the woods, despising government, almost without organization, and having the intensest love of individuality, wanting no one to rule him except himself. This was essentially the Teutonic condition from the fall of Rome to say 700 A.D. Review briefly the central idea of the Roman Empire, namely, absolute rule of one man, which, as we have seen, grew up in Rome by the time of Julius Cæsar and continued to the last days of the Roman Empire, five hundred years after.

2. **The feudal castle.** Study with children the feudal castle and feudalism as the struggle between and commingling of these two great ideas of government, namely, that every man should be ruled by one man (the Roman idea) and that every man has a right to rule himself (the Teutonic idea). Picture out to children the feudal castle, where built, why, thickness of walls, halls and chambers within it, means of protection around it, — moats, wall,

portcullis. Picture out the furnishings of the castle,—tapestry, furniture, manuscripts, books. Where and how were these manufactured? Study the classes of society in the feudal system, and see the relation of each class to the other. Describe the ram; the bore; methods of mining and countermining; arms and armor worn and used by the different classes; compare armor of lords with armor of lower classes. Show that the common people were not as well provided, either with arms or with places of refuge, as the lords were, and hence in a struggle between the lower classes and the lords the latter would be victorious. Help children to see what will be the result when gunpowder is invented and the common people are given the means whereby they can batter down the walls of the castle. Thus from the picture of the life around and within the castle help pupils to picture all western and northwestern Europe from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, with its hilltops crowned with castles, in which the lords enjoyed the intensest personal liberty, and with its valleys and plains cultivated by tenants, serfs, and slaves, over which these lords ruled as arbitrarily as any ruler in the most despotic days of Rome. Study the life of Charlemagne as the greatest example, in the early Middle Ages, of an attempt to join the Roman and Teutonic life.

3. **Lack of national life in feudalism.** Study the divisions of land throughout Europe under the feudal system. Let children compare the numerous sections and sizes to a "crazy quilt," or to divisions into counties and townships in the state in which the pupil lives, if every county or township had practically its own separate government, coined its own money, had each a different-sized bushel and half bushel, different length of yardstick, different weight for pound and half pound, made its own laws respecting taxation, fought all the surrounding counties,

plundered those who attempted to carry on commerce outside of their respective boundaries without special permission. Compare this picture to the condition of the American states when, during the Articles of Confederation, they were practically independent, each one regulating its own taxes, taxing each other, making its own treaties, regulating its own commerce, building its own roads, coining its own money, — in short, every state looking out for its own selfish interest. Thus help children to see that people may be divided into so many little groups that they cannot make any progress in working together, and that under such circumstances no great national feeling or life can be developed.

Under what circumstances in a school or in a family is it desirable to have the government all in the hands of one person? What is the objection to having it scattered into so many hands, as it was in feudal times? Name a government where the two ideas are combined. Is a government of the lords, by the lords, and for the lords better than a government of the king, by the king, and for the king? Is it as good as a government of the people, by the people, and for the people? In olden times, for example in the days of Egypt and Babylon, why were not the governments in the hands of all the people? and how long is it, in centuries, from the time of government by kings to governments by lords, and from government by lords to government of, by, and for the people? Study Warwick and Heidelberg castles as types illustrating feudal life. Study the life of William the Conqueror as a mighty force tending to establish a strong central government in England to balance the local spirit.

4. **Chivalry.** Present chivalry as the finest blossom of Teutonic life and as the instrument by which the noblest example of woman and the life in the home has, up to feudal times, been exhibited to the world.

Picture out to pupils the life in the castle, — lords, ladies, knights, jugglers, singers, players, copyists, schools; picture the dress of lords and ladies, — of what material, and where and how manufactured. Have pupils describe and live through the training which a child would receive in a castle from five to twenty years of age. Study the life outside of the castle, — tournaments, jousts, hawking, hunting, heroic expeditions. The teacher may here tell the story of the *Holy Grail*, of *Tristan*, of *Launcelot of the Lake*. Read and explain the *Vision of Sir Launfal* from Lowell, and some of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. Study the following as a short description of the ideal heroine of these chivalric ages : "Her beautiful hair shines like golden threads ; her forehead is whiter than the lily ; her eyebrows are arched like small crossbows; and a narrow line, milk-white, dimples her nostrils. Her eyes are brighter than emeralds, shining in her forehead like two stars. Her face has the beauty of morning, for it is both bright and vermilion, each color having its due proportion. Her lips are a trifle thick and ardent with bright color ; her teeth, whiter than pearls, are regular and of good size. No spices can be compared to the sweet breath of her mouth. Her chin is smoother than marble. From her stately shoulders sweep two thin arms and long hands, the flesh of which is tender and soft. The fingers are long and straight and her nails are beautiful." Show the effect of chivalry upon the elevation of the home, upon the development of romantic literature, upon social life, upon education. Compare the ideal type of Teuton now, with that when we first met him as a fierce hunter and fighter, say about 200 A.D. Lead children to see the great worth of chivalry in softening the barbaric feelings of the Teutonic race. Compare the position of women among the Greeks and Romans with the position of the upper class of women now seen among the Teutons. Show

that chivalry, like feudalism, was practically an institution for making the life of the few — the well-born — more comfortable and refined and thus more worth living. Show that chivalry did not sink its roots of culture down into the life of the common people.

Through the discussion of feudalism and chivalry compare the society now seen, as it gathered around the castle of a feudal lord, with the society of the South in the United States as it gathered around the great house on a typical Southern plantation; compare a feudal lord with a Southern planter, a serf with a slave and "white trash"; compare educational opportunities of the lower classes in each system of society. Was the Southern society, as respects government, education, religion, social enjoyment, and the right of *all* to enjoy the fruits of industry, in any way similar to feudalism? Was it a society of the few, by the few, and for the few, or of all the people, by all the people, and for all the people? Was the first type of society just named a step toward the last type? Which kind of government will be the stronger of the two, provided the people in it are generally well educated and are morally strong?

Help children to review briefly the great institutional ideas which each of the nations thus far studied has sought to give to the world, and to discuss freely which nation has given the greatest idea, thus: Egypt thought on immortality, Israel on the idea of one God, Greece on beauty, Rome on law, the Teuton on individual freedom. Let children look forward and say what America should contribute to the historical stream of human culture and freedom; help them to see that nations as well as individuals have had different ideals and have striven to realize different great ends of life in the world. In the light of this discussion lead pupils to interpret and memorize the following lines:

and finally lead them to say which of the supreme ideals of life set forth in the poem they themselves would choose.

"What is the real good?"
I asked in musing mood.
Order, said the law court;
Knowledge, said the school;
Truth, said the wise man;
Pleasure, said the fool;
Love, said the maiden;
Beauty, said the page;
Freedom, said the dreamer;
Home, said the sage;
Fame, said the soldier;
Equity, the seer;

Spake my heart full sadly:
"The answer is not here."

Then within my bosom
Softly this I heard:
"Each heart holds the secret:
Kindness is the word."

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY

REFERENCES FOR THE FIFTH GRADE

See General Note on Reference Books preceding first-grade references.

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CHURCH, R. W. *Beginning of the Middle Ages. (Epochs of Modern History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. $1.00.

DURUY, VICTOR. Condensed History of the Middle Ages. New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1898. 75 cents.

EMERTON, EPHRAIM. * Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages (375–814). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1896. $1.12.

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KEMP, E. W. History for Graded and District Schools. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

LAVISSE, ERNEST. General View of the Political History of Europe. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. $1.25.

LORD, JOHN. Beacon Lights of History: Middle Ages. New York, Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1887. Subscription.

Interesting sketches of Mohammed, Charlemagne, Hildebrand, Feudal System, and Gothic architecture.

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THATCHER, O. J. Short History of Mediæval Europe. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. $1.25.

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SINGLETON, ADAM. Chronicles of Sir John Froissart (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1900. 75 cents.

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MacCoun, Townsend. Historical Geography Charts of Europe: Mediæval and Modern. Boston, Silver, Burdett & Co., n.d. $15.00.

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An excellent short statement of the essential ideas in monasticism.

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CALCOTT, LADY. History of France (juv.). New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., n.d. 60 cents.

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KINGSLEY, CHARLES. The Roman and the Teuton. London, Macmillan Co., 1887. 3 shillings 6 pence.

KROEKER, KATE F. *Germany (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1897. 60 cents.

YONGE, CHARLOTTE M. Young Folks' History of Germany (juv.). Boston, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, 1878. $1.50.

OUTLINE OF THE SIXTH-GRADE WORK

The chief aim of the sixth-grade work is to present four great movements and agencies by which the Teutonic and Roman worlds of western Europe still struggled forward for seven or eight hundred years, say from about 1000 down to 1700 A.D., trying to determine whether the Teutonic principle of self-government or the Roman principle of despotic government should rule and direct the lives of men.

These great movements are:

I. The Crusades, — about 1100–1300 A.D.

II. The Renaissance, — about 1300–1500 A.D.

III. The growth of the English Constitution and especially the growth of the English Parliament, — about 450–1700 A.D.

IV. The Reformation, — about 1517 to the present time.

The Struggle between the Teutonic and the Roman Worlds for Mastery in Europe

I. THE CRUSADES, — ABOUT 1100–1300 A.D.

1. **Motives leading to the Crusades.** Connect the Crusade movement with the ideas (as seen in the fifth grade) of courage and the love of adventure characteristic of the Teuton; connect it also with the teaching of the Church and the monastery on the medical and religious benefit of pilgrimages to the Holy Land for curing diseases of both body and soul; connect it with the desire for religious relics so strong in the Middle Ages.

2. **Turkish conquests and their effects.** Work out the lines of travel taken by the Crusaders from Europe eastward to

the Holy Land; see the Turks coming in from central Asia and overrunning the countries around the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea, destroying property and overturning Christianity; see the Crusaders gradually give up traveling by land and taking to ships on the Mediterranean. What effect would the two hundred years of travel towards the East have upon the Crusaders' knowledge of geography? Did the monks, studied in the fifth grade, know much about geography? Could the travels of the Crusaders be published? On what materials? By whom? Study the travels and biography of Marco Polo. What effect would the publication of these travels have upon the intelligence of the people in general? How would this reach forward in after years to the days of Columbus? How far in time, measured in centuries and in exact dates, is it from the close of the Crusades (1272 A.D.) to Columbus's time?

3. **Effect of Crusades on commerce.** Work out the four great routes of commerce from Asia into Europe. Give in detail the articles of merchandise the Crusaders carried into the East, as leather, bar iron, uncoined precious metals, raw wool, skins, furs, wine, meats, etc. Give in detail the articles which the Crusaders brought back from the East, as precious stones, pearls, glass, gloves, carpets, tapestries, silks, spices, beautiful woods, alcohol, drugs, wheat, windmills, plums, apricots, quinces. Work out some of the motives of commerce from Asia into Europe, and fit the articles of commerce into proper places and uses in the West; for example, precious stones for ornamenting the crosier of archbishop and bishop, ornamenting shrines, ornamenting swords of knights, the dress of ladies; drugs for medical use in the monasteries, hospitals, and castles; spices for incense in church worship, for table use in monasteries and castles; silks for vestments of clergy, for covering of altars, for dress of gentlemen and court ladies; carpets and tapestries

for castles of lords; wheat, windmills, plums, apricots, and quinces for farmers. Show illustrative pictures of these articles and aid children to make some of them. Would the Teuton have cared much for these things when we first saw him in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., roaming and fighting through the woods of western Europe?

4. **Effect of commerce in developing institutions.** Show the effect of commerce in breaking down the different systems of weights, measures, and coinage, and thus helping to unify the people in industry; show the effect of commerce in developing better roads and in building up cities; show the effect of city life upon social intercourse and the development of free government, especially in the cities themselves and among the middle classes. Point out on the map the Italian, French, Dutch, and German cities which arose at this time. Were they well situated for carrying on commerce? Show the relation of the location of such cities as Paris, Hamburg, Bremen, to the piratical life on the North Sea and to the establishment of great commercial leagues and finally guilds. Show the effect of cities upon the growth of intellectual life, and upon the arts, such as painting and sculpture; show how in general they tended to establish in the west of Europe a higher taste for comfort, luxury, and amusement.

With these cities as centers, and with a large map of the world before the children, help them to work out the various routes of travel which people of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries developed in northern, western, and central Europe, around the Mediterranean Sea, eastward through the Persian Gulf, across the Indian Ocean, out into China, India, and Japan, southward around Africa, and up and down the eastern shore of the Atlantic Ocean. When the children have seen the great flow of commercial life between the Asiatic and the European cities, and have seen this stream utterly choked up at its center by the

coming in of the Turks, let them devise ways by which European merchants again may reach Asia. By this means lead pupils to enter into the efforts then set on foot by western Europe to reach the East by coasting down the western coast of Africa, rounding its southern extremity, and finally reaching India, Persia, and the Mesopotamian valley. Connect these efforts with Columbus's courageous and self-reliant act in leaving the coast (what no man before had the courage to do) and striking boldly out on the trackless ocean to find a new roadway for Europe's growing trade.

It will be both interesting and profitable to help children to see in the great opening movement of this grade — the Crusades — that, in effect, Europe is giving back something to the peoples and regions studied in the first and second grades, principally raw materials for manufactures, and in turn being fairly inundated with the rich articles and stuffs and ideas which these countries pour into the life of Europe. Thus show children that the stream of history which had apparently become stagnated by the various invasions of the Teutons and the fall of Rome, is being opened up again throughout the entire length of the Mediterranean and to the westernmost extremity of Europe by the Crusade movement. By such ideas as this is the thought of the *unity of the general historical movement in the entire human race* gradually developed in the child's mind. He comes (of course slowly) to feel with Tennyson that

> . . . Thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

5. **Effect of Crusades on government.** Show children the effect of Crusades in weakening feudalism, and hence their influence on the rise of national spirit and national government in France, England, Spain, Portugal, Holland. Study the map of Europe and see whether Europe is geographically

divided into many parts by mountains, seas, varieties of climate, soil, and products; study effect of such geographical diversity in causing the development of several distinct European nations. Compare geographical features of Europe with those of the United States, Egypt, Israel, the Mesopotamian valley, and Greece. Tell in which countries one great central political life would most easily grow up, and in which it would be natural for much local life to develop.

In helping children to see the growth of nationality and permanent governments in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, study MacCoun's *Historical Geography Charts of Mediæval and Modern Times*, and help them to work out the struggles and growth of England, France, Portugal, and Spain, as they reach outward for more power and territory; have them compare these nations in their essential ideas of government; help them to see that although Spain, France, and Portugal tried to take up and develop the Teutonic spirit of self-government in legislative assemblies (the Estates General in France, the Cortes in Spain), they utterly failed because of the arbitrary rule of the king (the executive department), but that England heroically fought the battle for self-government until she won by building up a strong, self-reliant people, who curbed the power of the arbitrary king and developed a great instrument, the English Parliament, with which to work out her own freedom. In comparing these four nations in their essential ideas of government lead pupils to decide which people will be likely to carry the freest ideas across the ocean into the Americas, — South, Central, and North, — and which stream of thought will finally develop into the conception of a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

6. **Effect of Crusades on education and culture.** Help children to see the effect of Christian northern Europe coming into contact with more highly cultivated southern Europe;

the effect of the best of Mohammedan people coming into contact with the most tolerant and liberal-minded Christian peoples and nations; the effect of more simple people of the north touching and mingling with the nations of the luxurious East, the Greeks of Constantinople, and the scholars of Mohammedan Spain; the effect of the development of general intelligence upon the spirit of tolerance and self-reliance. Does the Crusade movement, taken as a whole, tend to develop independence of spirit, self-reliance in industry, government, and business enterprise, or does it tend to destroy independence of life? Is it mostly Teutonic or Romanic in nature?

7. **Effect of Crusades on Church life.** Show children the effect upon the Crusaders of seeing the best of Mohammedan character and civilization; tell story of Saladin and Richard; story of the "Three Rings" in *Nathan the Wise*. Note effect of Crusades in enriching the Church; effect of this wealth in enabling the people to build fine cathedrals and monastic homes. Show children the first steps toward unity in religion, which, notwithstanding all the fanaticism and bloody experiences of the Crusades, was slowly developing throughout these brutal ages, making a little clearer, step by step, what Jesus meant when he exhorted his followers to love their enemies and treat all mankind as brothers.

II. THE RENAISSANCE, — ABOUT 1300–1500 A.D.

1. **The meaning of the Renaissance.** By simple illustrations make clear the meaning of the word "renaissance." Compare the idea to leaves bursting forth anew in the springtime; compare to certain animals coming to active life again after having lain dormant through the winter.

Review agencies by which western Europe obtained new manuscripts from the South and the East during the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries: first,

through travelers returning from crusading trips through Italy and the South; second, through the rule of the Venetians in Constantinople (1204–1261 A.D.); third, through the Greek scholars, who, after the fall of Constantinople (1453), took their bundles of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew parchment books and carried them from Constantinople into the monasteries of the West. Note the influence of the Renaissance in increasing the love for travel and in broadening the love for literature.

2. **The effect of the Renaissance on learning.** Show pupils the growth of palace, monastic, and university libraries, and the effect of the increase of manuscripts upon the number of scholars. Explain how manuscripts increased by copies being made, then copies of these copies, and so on, till there might be a dozen or more different copies of the same manuscript reaching over a thousand or more years, each copy perhaps somewhat different from all the others, according as to whether or not the copyist had had a plain manuscript to copy from, and according as he himself had been careful and conscientious in his work. Help children to see how the mind is sharpened by comparing, on the same point, Greek with Latin manuscripts, and those of one age with those of another. Does such work tend to independence of thought? Would it tend to strengthen or weaken absolute reliance on the documents which had been copied and recopied many times in the monasteries during the Middle Ages? Show the effect of the study of different Greek and Hebrew writers, such as Virgil, Horace, Terence, Aristotle, Homer, Plato, and the writers of the Old and the New Testaments. Would such study tend to broaden or to narrow the mind? Would it tend to give more liberal views and tolerant feeling to people in general? Show how the study of these writers tended to bring about in the minds of the mediæval scholars

sympathy with the old classical times. As regards the amount of writing material available, and the ease with which books are produced nowadays, compare present conditions with those existing in the days of Greece, of Rome, of Babylon, and of ancient Egypt; lead pupils to judge whether man in general, and especially in western Europe, has now a better chance for education than he ever had before.

3. **Relation of the Renaissance to fine art.** Show the relation of the Renaissance to art, and of art to a life of more beauty and pleasure. Show pupils the agencies by which Europe re-awoke to the love of art which ancient Greece had developed (1) by seeing examples of it in Greece, Rome, and Constantinople; (2) through travels in the East and the South; (3) by the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew authors. Help children to see the five great channels through which all mankind is struggling to express beauty to the world, — painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, and music. Study the city of Florence in the fifteenth century by reading the biographies of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Lorenzo de Medici. Study in detail a great Gothic cathedral, as Notre Dame, Westminster Abbey, or Cologne; compare the characteristics of Greek architecture with those of Gothic architecture; compare the picture of city life as it is seen in art, science, and literature in the fifteenth century with the monastic life seen say in the fifth and then in the tenth century. Which would give a broader view of life, — to live in a monastery in the fifth century or in Florence in the fifteenth? In which case did all the people more nearly get a chance to take part in the pleasures, duties, and rewards of life? In taking up, criticising, and re-living this classical life, is the Teuton working out the habit of thinking and acting for himself, or is he having others think for him? In

doing what he does, is it advancing him more to a free and self-reliant life or to one dependent on the thought and will of some one else?

4. **The Renaissance movement as a help in working out a conception of the unity of history.** It will be of interest to pupils to see that the Renaissance movement is one in which Europe turns back and refreshes herself, as it were, with the life developed in the third grade (Greece) and in the fourth grade (Rome), just as the Crusade movement was one in which Europe turned back, brought up rather unconsciously, and used as a broader foundation for herself, part of the old life studied in the first and second grades, — the life of the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea. The children may thus again, in the study of the Renaissance, be led to see how one age and the life of one people in history dovetails itself into the life of the past, and becomes, in turn, a foundation for the future.

Thus again is the child made to see and feel that, notwithstanding the eddies, whirlpools, ebb and flow, and occasional almost stagnant places in the stream of history, it is, upon the whole, a moving, unbroken stream, ever enlarging by receiving anew into its current the best of the life of the past, and adding new thought and impulse out of the present.

5. **Printing.** When invented? Relation of printing to cheapening of books, to the general use of books among the people, to independent thought, to free government, to religious freedom, to education among people in general. Show relation of the printing press to free schools and free libraries. Study the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Why were those who wrote the Constitution

so careful to provide for a free press in the United States? How long, estimated both in centuries and by exact date, is it from the invention of the printing press to the writing of the United States Constitution?

6. **Invention of cotton and rag paper, and its relation to freedom.** Compare cost of these kinds of paper with that of papyrus, vellum, and parchment. Show the relation of cheap paper to number and cost of books. Review briefly with children the main agencies which man has used, from the beginning of history down to the present time, in expressing his thoughts and transmitting them from age to age, as, for example, on clay tablet, on papyrus, on wax, on vellum, on skins of animals, on paper.

7. **Invention of gunpowder and its relation to the freedom of man.** Review work in fifth grade on castles and especially castle walls; review armor of knights, and compare with that of the lower classes; develop the idea that just as the printing press is a new agent for giving the common people new thought and greater freedom of mind, so gunpowder, with the cannon, is a new and powerful agent compelling the upper classes to respect the rights of the common man, who is now seeing his individual worth more clearly than he did in his day of barbarism, and who is inventing instruments by which to compel his aristocratic and arrogant lord to respect his rights. Picture the massive wall of the castle by which the despotic lord was able to resist the attacks of the common people of the Middle Ages, armed as they were merely with crossbow, longbow, and with ram and bore. Help children to picture the castle battered down in an hour when the common man had invented and stood behind the cannon; help them to see that freedom of the lower classes was not possible so long as they had no means of defending themselves against the superior power of the lords.

Study the biographies of Dante, Petrarch, Gutenberg.

III. THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS AND ESPECIALLY THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT, — ABOUT 450 A.D., DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME

The aim of the work on English institutions is to present to children first, the most important geographical influences which have molded England's history, and second, to study in five periods the most important steps taken by Great Britain in developing free institutions from the time the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were wandering tribes in England (beginning about 450 A.D.) down to the present time. This is a persistent and stubborn struggle of about fifteen hundred years, and in these fifteen centuries the English developed from straggling, wandering tribes into one of the very freest and best governed nations in the world.

Physical Conditions surrounding England

Picture for children the physical conditions surrounding England: the climate; soil; plants and animals, both land and sea; islands; ocean currents; harbors; bays; rivers; plains; valleys; mountains; forests; picture surrounding countries,—Norway, Sweden, the Baltic lands, Denmark, northern Germany, Flanders, and northern France.

Climate and occupations. Through the study of the geographic features of England help children to work out the kinds of occupation which would be possible in England; for example, the English climate would be about the same as the climate of the United States, extending westward from Philadelphia to the plains of Kansas and Nebraska; lead pupils to see that the English could therefore grow wheat, barley, hemp, rye, and flax.

The soil of England, and especially that in the eastern and southeastern half, was level, rolling, and rich, and

therefore excellent for pasture; here cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and goats could be raised in great numbers.

Islands, ocean currents, harbors, rivers. Picture to children Great Britain surrounded by at least five thousand islands; wrapped about by the long, warm arms of the ocean currents which pass around England, Scotland, and Ireland every day, winter and summer; having hundreds of indentations on the coast which give safe harbors for boats and many navigable rivers winding in every direction through the country and emptying with deep, broad channels into the ocean.

Would these geographic facts influence the occupations of the English people? How do warm, open seas, fine harbors, rich soil, numerous islands, and navigable rivers influence the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of a country?

Fishing and its relation to commerce. The North Sea has fine herring in it; in Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic lands are abundant fish, furs, forests for masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine. The southeastern borders of the North Sea, and the mouths of the Elbe, the Oder, the Weser, and the Rhine in northern Germany furnish good harbors. Would commerce be likely to grow up between England and the Baltic lands? between England and northern Germany, Flanders, and France?

NOTE. Pupils should make constant use of historical maps and atlases to understand the above geographical basis incident to a knowledge of English history.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERTY AND FREE INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND

The aim here is to present suggestive material and general steps by which to emphasize for children five chief periods during which England has gradually fought out and developed her free institutions.

The first period is the rootage and early growth of the Teutonic idea of government in England; that is, the idea that each man has a right to rule himself. This period extends from about 450 A.D., when the Teutonic Angles, Saxons, and Jutes began to arrive in England from northern Germany, down to 1066, when the Teutonic rule was, to a large degree, modified by the Roman rule of William the Conqueror. This period is about six centuries long.

The second period includes the growth and tendency of the Roman idea of government to become dominant in England; that is, the idea that one man has an entire right — a right given him by God — to rule all others of the nation without their consent. This period extends from 1066, when William the Conqueror placed his strong hand of authority on the English government, to 1215, when King John was compelled to take his iron heel from the neck of the English people and sign the Great Charter at Runnymede. This period is almost exactly a century and a half long (1066–1215).

The third period is that of the slow growth, oftentimes in conflict, but sometimes hand in hand, of the two great principles of government, — first, government belongs to one man (Roman idea); second, government belongs to all (Teutonic idea), — till these two ideas came to be fairly well balanced in spirit and magnificently represented (though often only in form) in the great Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603). This was a period almost four hundred years long.

The fourth period in the development of English liberty is that in which the king and his followers undertook absolutely to crush liberty, to root out the Teutonic principle, and to rule England as arbitrarily as ever an imperial Cæsar ruled Rome. This was a period about seventy-five years long. It extended from Queen Elizabeth's death (1603) to the time when William and Mary came to the English

throne (1689), except for a period of about twenty years (1640–1660), during which time England was governed almost entirely by Parliament and after Charles I's execution was led by a great lover of liberty — Oliver Cromwell.

The fifth period in the development of liberty and free institutions in England is that in which the Teutonic principle of self-government has grown steadily and persistently stronger until it has finally triumphed. This period extends from 1689 to the present time, — a period covering a little more than two hundred years. At the beginning of this period the English people looked over their twelve hundred years of past history, and, in the inspiration of the heroic struggles of the past, summed it up in a great liberty document called the Bill of Rights. This great document of liberty was written out exactly a hundred years before Washington became President of the United States, and is therefore about two hundred and twenty years old. Along with Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, it has been the instrument by which the English people have developed into one of the freest nations in the world.

FIRST PERIOD: EARLY TEUTONIC GOVERNMENT, — ABOUT 450–1066 A.D.

1. **Time of period.** Develop with children the period from 450 to 1066 A.D. Estimate in centuries; in half centuries; in generations (counting three generations of people to a hundred years). Would this length of time be long enough for the Anglo-Saxon ideas to become deeply rooted in the minds of a people?

2. **Fundamental ideas.** Explain ideas for which the Anglo-Saxons stood. Help children to see the intense desire which a Teuton had to rule himself: frequently changed his tribe if he did not like the chief; held moot courts in which he freely discussed questions of peace and war; set up a

central legislative body (the Witenagemote); wished to live with his house disconnected from that of his neighbors; had a high regard for the purity, dignity, and nobility of women; had very high regard for personal bravery of men, and hence engaged much in petty warfare; to a large extent each man ruled himself much as he pleased.

3. **Geographic conditions.** Help the pupils to work out the occupations and institutions of the people. What influence would the streams, plains, seas, animals, and plants in and around England have upon the occupations of the people? Could they hunt, fish, feed flocks, grow grain, and sell their products to surrounding countries? Would these people most likely be a nation of shepherds, shippers, or manufacturers at this time? Would disconnected, warring tribes, continually fighting among themselves, spend much time and money in making roads, developing commerce, establishing schools, and building churches? What is the relation of the growth of religion, education, and business to good government in a country?

4. **Growth in government.** Help children to see that at best England could only become a disconnected nation of fishers, fighters, hunters, and shepherds, until she could get a strong, well-established government; then aid them to work out the steps by which Anglo-Saxon England grew from a disorganized condition, with almost no government, first into little local bodies called townships, then into somewhat larger bodies for ruling the county, called shires, then into a body including the whole nation, called the Witenagemote, or "meeting of the wise men."

Study these three governments; tell the chief things done in each; tell how much the common people would learn by taking part in each. Explain the term "local government"; tell what things the people might govern locally, as fishing in the rivers, hunting in the forests, taking care of nets on

shore and bank, taking care of the poor and unfortunate in the townships and shires, working roads, paying taxes, etc. Explain the term "central government" and help children to see that in absolute (i.e. complete) central government the king and his helpers do all the governing themselves. Is local government or central government better for educating the people, thus making them self-reliant, and finally able to govern themselves? Why? Which at first did the Anglo-Saxon best understand and practice? Study the lives of Alfred the Great and St. Dunstan, and have children tell wherein both were great Anglo-Saxons. Have them tell as well as they can what makes any man great, taking as examples Moses, Cæsar, Alfred, Shakespeare, Cromwell, Washington, and Lincoln.

SECOND PERIOD: ROOTING OF THE ROMAN IDEA OF GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, — 1066–1215 A.D.

1. **Government.** Help children to see that the idea as gradually developed from William the Conqueror to King John was that of a strong central government; help them to see what classes of people were struggling against each other at this time and what they were struggling for, — the king and his supporters generally standing for arbitrary power, the clergy and the nobility often divided between the king and the commons; the commons striving for more power to rule themselves. Lead the children to see that the old Anglo-Saxon principle of self-government grew ever weaker and weaker under the Norman rulers, while the Roman principle of gathering power into one man's hand grew stronger and stronger. Point out the advantage of strong central government in giving strength and stability to a nation. Point out the evil results if the government becomes tyrannical and gives the people no chance to take a part in it. Study the lives and reigns of William the

Conqueror and King John, as types of English kings who especially desired to draw great power into their own hands. Help children to argue both for and against strong central government in a school, in a church, in a family.

2. **The Church.** Review briefly the work on the monastery and the Crusades and have children judge whether the Church would be wealthy at this time or not. Name its officers from Pope down to priest; imagine its expansion over some of western Asia and northern Africa and almost the whole of Europe; recall the great work it did in enlightening the people in those days when there were no free schools. Help children to see the one great, growing Christian Church with its head at Rome and its power reaching in every direction through a vast army of officers. Is the Church organizing itself on the Roman or Teutonic model of government? Help children to realize the almost continuous battle which went on between the Church and the State for office, power, and wealth, from the time of William the Conqueror to King John (1066–1215 A.D.).

3. **The school.** Lead pupils to see why education at this time was almost entirely in the hands of the Church; compare with conditions in our own country in earlier times and at the present time; name advantages in having the Church control schools; name disadvantages. What is meant by Church schools? by free schools? Give examples of each in pupil's own state. Which do you prefer? Why?

4. **Industry.** Have children imagine all England at this time covered over with feudal life. Everybody, practically, from king to the lowest serf, is in some way bound to the land and dependent on it for a living. As an example of the agricultural life of this time picture to children an English manor, large enough to accommodate forty or fifty families, and work out with them the round of life which would take place upon it in a year in the days of King John or Magna

Charta. This manor would consist of a great open field of a thousand or more acres; the unfenced stretch of land would be divided into acre or half-acre strips; these strips would be scattered over the entire tilled ground, no two together. Outside the plowed field would be meadow and pasture land, and outside of this, forests and woodland; perhaps the entire manor would contain twenty-five hundred or three thousand acres.

5. **Agricultural industry.** Engaged in cultivating this land would be laborers plowing with oxen yoked in teams of eight; others hoeing with wooden hoes; others tanning the skins brought from the forest; others making shoes of skins; carpenters putting up buildings; masons laying brick; every house humming with a spinning wheel; every four or five houses booming with a loom; one bakery on the entire manor, where the lord required everybody to bake his bread and pay a fee for the privilege; one chapel on the manor where the priest performed religious rites and received his fees; the same chapel also for marriage, but if the lord chose to be arbitrary, absolutely no marriage was permitted without his consent; no one could leave the manor at pleasure for town or city, nor could he change one occupation, as farming, for another; in short, life was one round of monotony, in which men, women, and children were born, lived, and died without ever leaving the narrow bounds of the manor. Compare the apparent bondage of this life with the wild freedom of the Teuton, fishing, hunting, and wandering through the woods during much of the six hundred years before this time. Wherein has the Teuton lost as he has become more quiet, settled, and civilized? Wherein has he gained? Which is greater, his loss or gain? Why?

Compare the picture of the manor just studied with a farm in Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Kansas at the present

time. What would be the difference of opportunity in the two cases in owning land, in selling it, in cultivating it, in freedom of going and coming, in choosing one's own individual crops and ways of farming, in freely getting married and rearing a family, in social pleasures, in religious life? As a person having your own living to make, would you rather have been born in 1215 at Runnymede and been told to work out your life according to Magna Charta, or would you rather be born in 1908 on the banks of the Mississippi and be told to work out your life according to the Constitution of the United States? Why? In what way did one life grow out of the other? Could we have had the last without the first?

6. **Trade industry.** Recall to children that the time of securing the Great Charter was in the very height of the Crusades. Show effect of the Crusades on commerce; effect of commerce in developing towns and cities in England. Name and locate on map such towns and cities as Canterbury, Winchester, Oxford, London, York, etc. What kind of life would grow up in the towns? Here lead children to see the people of the country gradually breaking away from the monotony of the feudal farm and taking hold of the larger opportunities of the city; show them the growth of merchant guilds; the bringing of furs from the Baltic, fish from the North Sea, woven cloth from northern Germany and Flanders, wines and silks from France and Spain, jewelry and precious stones from Italy, shawls, silks, and spices from the Orient. Lead pupils to see the relation of the guilds to securing and manufacturing these articles; picture to them the coming and going of the fleets of merchandise. Where would they come from? Where go to? What is the influence of this trade upon the growth of cities? the growth of cities upon the growth of wealth? the growth of wealth upon the growth of education? What is the relation of

wealth and learning to love of culture, as sculpture, painting, music, and architecture? Lead children to bring in imagination products from all quarters of the earth, and sell them in London to bishop, archbishop, priest, wealthy merchant, the king, the noble, the common man. Thus help children to see the life flowing to London, the London life flowing back into the Continent, — Germany, Flanders, France, Spain, and the Mediterranean cities weaving their lives into England, England weaving its life into that of the Continent, and all Europe slowly growing to be one common warp and woof of civilization, woven as the many-colored carpet on the ever-sounding loom of industry. Lead pupils to see some of the problems which would come to England from this enlarging industrial life. Would there be an export tax on the merchandise going out and an import tax on the merchandise coming in? Would the king or the people lay this tax? What would merchants of foreign countries do if war broke out between their country and England? What is a city charter? How would it help the craft guilds, the merchant guilds, and the entire city of London, for example, to get a charter from the king? Could it rule itself more efficiently — industrially, socially, and politically — with a written charter?

7. **Magna Charta and growth of English liberty.** First trace with children the chief events leading up to the quarrel between the people and King John; then study the Great Charter by aiding children to realize and discuss the questions of setting up and ruling towns, cities, and counties; of trading with foreign merchants and getting them to trade with you; of levying taxes; of paying for the expenses of government, such as the officers for manors, townships, shires, cities, and nation. Teach the Great Charter as the expression of a struggling, growing, national life which arose out of the free spirit and love of personal

liberty of the whole English people. Lead children to see that the sixty-three articles which go to make up the Charter hold the same relation to the real national life as it was lived in England day by day that the coat holds to the body, — it is not the body, but protects it. So Magna Charta was the outer expression of a great inner spirit which, in the coming ages, was to struggle mightily for English liberty.

8. **Provisions.** The Great Charter provides among other important things: (1) that the Church shall have a right to choose its own officers and govern itself (the king, who desired arbitrary rule, had been opposing this and would continue to oppose it); (2) that one's own person and his property shall not be interfered with except by law, and the law administered by one's equals (the king and the nobles up to this time had mostly made and carried out the laws as they wanted to); (3) that there shall be permanent courts set up throughout the country where every one, rich and poor, high and low, shall be treated justly (the courts had mainly been king's courts and nobles' courts up to this time); (4) that the lords shall take only certain profits, or aids, and that the lower tenant shall be treated as well as the upper tenant or the lord; (5) that there shall be a central governing council (this developed into a Parliament which finally put an instrument into the hands of the people with which to battle for their liberties); (6) that London and other towns throughout England shall have full liberty to grow (this would lessen the power of the strong country lords and increase the power of the middle and lower classes in the city); (7) that the king shall not levy a number of arbitrary fees (this would mightily lessen the power of the king, for a king can do little in peace or war without money); (8) that the rights of merchants going out of and coming into England shall be carefully guarded (this would

finally make a free class on the seas, as opposed to the nobility, who mostly remained on the land); (9) that the lower classes — the common people — shall have their rights protected (the rights which were most neglected of all).

Magna Charta was the first great public promise that an English ruler had made to the people and had permitted to be written down in black and white. Keep before children the fact that the king at that time would break every one of these promises the next day, if he could, and that he generally found some way to break most of them; whereupon the people would protest and make him promise over again.

THIRD PERIOD: THE GROWING BALANCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN AND THE TEUTONIC PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, — 1215–1603 A.D.

1. **Time of struggle.** Compare length of the first, second, and third periods. The aim of the third period is to aid pupils to see the four-hundred-year struggle for self-government carried on between the king on the one hand and the people on the other, until the two powers (notwithstanding both people and Parliament were often mistreated) were fairly well balanced in "the days of Good Queen Bess."

2. **Instruments of struggle.** Beginning with Magna Charta, help pupils to understand the powers and instruments possessed by each side in carrying on the struggle. Show children that the king has the army on his side, i.e. that in England, or even America, the army is the legal and proper support of the king or the President, — that the whole army power is the king's, to whom, legally, when he commands,

> Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do or die.

Have children see that the king, through the army, can make people do what he wishes, whether they desire to do

so or not. On the people's side was the Great Charter to which they could appeal when the king violated it, which he did on more than thirty particular occasions.

3. **Trial by jury.** Lead pupils to pick out those articles of Magna Charta which will help the common people to get a fair and speedy trial in court; teach them the meaning of a jury; tell them of the early history of the jury, and help them to see how the jury is the instrument by which the *common* man learns to judge in legal matters what is right and what is wrong. Have children see the training which gradually came to the minds of the common people — shepherd, mason, farmer, merchant, sailor — from serving on the jury; have them see the effect of the growth of the jury system upon the absolute (i.e. the complete and arbitrary) power of the king.

4. **A court procedure.** Let children work out the details of a trial, — the impaneling of the petty jury, the indictment by grand jury, the hearing of evidence by petty jury, the presiding of the judge, the trying of the case. Take children to courthouses and explain court procedure to them. Organize the school at times so as to illustrate the above procedure and its power in training the people.

5. **Origin and growth of the jury.** Tell pupils that the jury system was just growing up in the days of Magna Charta. How long was it from the drawing up of Magna Charta to the drawing up of the United States Constitution? What do both the Constitution of the United States and the Great Charter say concerning the preservation and use of jury trial? (See Amendments to United States Constitution, Arts. V, VI, VII; compare with Arts. 39 and 40 of Magna Charta.)

6. **Meaning of Parliament.** Develop the idea of a parliament as an instrument of liberty for the use of the commons in fighting for their freedom; explain the meaning of the

word "parliament." In what way were the Anglo-Saxon meetings in the woods, in early times and at Runnymede, parliaments, i.e. occasions for parleying, talking, and discussing? Lead children to see the coming together of the people in their town meetings, township and county meetings, as so many beehives, so to speak, busily engaged in developing self-government by means of discussion.

7. **Meeting of first Parliament (1265) exactly five hundred years before Stamp Act Congress.** Help children to work out important relative dates. What connection was there between the calling together of the first Parliament in 1265 and the calling together of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765? Describe the Model Parliament (1295), in which, for the first time, a full representation of the three classes — nobles, clergymen, and commons — were chosen from the counties, the cities, and the town governments.

8. **Character of laws.** Explain to pupils the kind of laws made by this new Parliament as it kept on growing. Did it try to cut off any of the feudal taxes of the king, or make marriage laws more reasonable? What effect did the more reasonable laws for merchants have upon trade, upon the growth of cities, and upon the growth of wealth? What effect did the growth of wealth have upon the middle and the lower classes? Note the effect of this larger, freer life upon the farmers; upon those engaged in commerce; upon those engaged in manufacturing.

9. **Growing importance of England.** In a brief review recall how England, in the early centuries of the Christian era, was a land of shepherds in a remote corner of the world. Tell them that from about 800 A.D. down to 1300, England was, speaking in general, one body of farmers, growing wheat, cattle, wool, and pigs, and bound together, to a degree, into one common life of feudalism. Show that from 1300 to 1603 A.D., the year ending with the death of the

great Queen Elizabeth, England had nursed her Parliament into a strong, lusty child, fought and conquered Spain on the seas in 1588 (Spanish Armada), developed a commerce which was just beginning to reach to every quarter of the earth, and was rapidly changing and expanding in industry till she no longer occupied that

Utmost corner of the west,

but rather the very center of the seas.

Explain this great growth of individual liberty and wealth; the decay of feudalism through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; the beginning, growth, and rise of commerce in the sixteenth century; the mastery of the seas after the defeat of the Armada; the coming of the great sea captains, — Hawkins, Howard, Drake, Raleigh; the establishment of shipping lines, — westward to America, eastward to India, southward to Africa; the rapid growth of trading companies to Jamestown, to Plymouth, to Russia, to Turkey, to the Mediterranean; the rise of the slave trade. In short, England was no longer content to stay on land, was not satisfied to be limited to the northern seas and the Mediterranean, but, reaching for the wealth and freedom of a world-wide sea, — the Atlantic Ocean, — picked herself out of a remote corner of the world and seated herself in its very center. As an embodiment of the spirit and meaning of this period, study the life, character, and work of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake, and Hawkins. Tell pupils something of Shakespeare and read parts of *King Henry V.*

Material for teacher. As an example of the difference between the spirit in which King John, in 1215, regarded free institutions and the spirit in which Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) regarded them, let children study and interpret these two quotations: (1) "Twenty-five barons

were chosen to see that King John obeyed the charter. In truth, he had no idea of doing what he had promised. It is said that he was so angry at having been compelled to sign it, that he rolled on the floor in rage and gnawed a stick. John soon hired some French soldiers to help him put down his barons." (2) "On Monday, April 2, 1571, the Parliament being about to begin, the Queen's Highness, our most gracious Sovereign, the Lady Elizabeth, about eleven of the clock, left her palace at Whitehall. And thus she made her ancient, accustomed, most honorable passage along the road towards Westminster. First came her Majesty's Guard of State; then the knights, bannerets, and esquires; her judges, justices, barons, bishops, archbishops, earls, viscounts; the officers of her Court; her Majesty's Great Seal of England, the gilt Rod of Royal State, the golden-sheathed Sword and the jewelled Cap of Maintenance, the emblems of the realm's authority, attended by heralds, pursuivants and trumpeters. Thus the ministers of justice, of religion, and of government followed in solemn order, one after the other. And as the procession passed along, the music of the trumpeters filled the ear; the eye was caught by the blaze of scarlet and gold, by the gleam and glitter of white steel, white surplices, and white miniver; for all were vested in their Parliament robes, their mantles, circots, and hoods. Then came the Queen — the Queen Elizabeth.

"Her Majesty sat in her coach, robed imperially in a mantle furred with ermines, and her kirtle of crimson velvet, cut close, with close sleeves. Over all was a collar, richly set with jewels, and upon her head a wreath or coronet of gold gleaming with pearls and precious stones. The palfreys of her coach were covered with crimson velvet, richly embossed and embroidered. Her chariot was followed by the Master of the Horse, leading Her Majesty's

spare horse, and by forty-seven Ladies and Women of Honour, the Guard, in gold-laced coats, going on every side of them; the trumpeters before them sounding, and the heralds riding, all keeping their rooms and places, orderly.

"Her Majesty being thus conducted with royalty into the Upper House of Parliament, and appareled in her Parliament robes, there she sat in princely and seemly sort, under a high and rich canopy, her mantle borne up from off her shoulders by the Lord High Chamberlain and the Lord Hunsdon.

"The Lords, spiritual and temporal, all in their places, sat ranged in order due, and the judges on the woolsacks in the midst. The Queen, being on the throne, was given to the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, of whom as many as conveniently could, were let in, and stood together behind the rail or bar at the lower end of the Upper House. Her Majesty then rose up from her Regal seat and with a princely grace and singular good countenance said: 'My right loving Lords, and you our right faithful and obedient subjects, we, in the name of God, for His service and for the safety of this State, are now here assembled, to His glory I hope; and I pray that it may be to your comfort and the common quiet of our, yours, and all ours, forever.'

"Then looking on the right side of her, towards the Lord Chancellor, she willed him to show the cause of the Parliament. Thereupon the Lord Chancellor spake, and 'declared in Her Majesty's name that this Assembly of Parliament was for three causes called, namely, for the glory of Almighty God, for the health and preservation of her Majesty, and the welfare of the common-weal."

The teacher should help children to judge which of these two rulers was ruling through the arbitrary power of the army and which through the affections of the people, —

King John at Runnymede (1215) or Queen Elizabeth on Parliament Day (1571). Work out with children the above picture of the opening of Parliament; have them see that Parliament is gradually coming to be the greatest of the great instruments by which the English race has pushed itself toward freedom; explain how Parliament is as truly an instrument of freedom as is the plow, the pen, the printing press, the ship, the compass, the railroad, and the sewing machine.

FOURTH PERIOD: THE FINAL EFFORT TO CRUSH LIBERTY IN ENGLAND. THE DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE ROMAN PRINCIPLE, — 1603–1689 A.D.

1. **Development of historic time sense.** Give the time of this period with reference to other periods, reckoning since Anglo-Saxons first began coming into England; connect with beginning of English colonial life in America. Note that this period reaches over a most heroic struggle in England between the idea that every man has an inborn right to rule himself (the Teutonic principle) and the idea that one man — the king — has a God-given right to rule absolutely everybody else in the nation (the Roman principle).

2. **The "Divine Right of Kings."** Explain to children the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. Why was this doctrine claimed? Connect this with the doctrine of the Roman emperors at the time of the Cæsars. Have rulers who claimed to rule as *God* told them to — for example, the Roman Cæsars, King John in the thirteenth century, King James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II in the seventeenth century — ruled as nearly in a God-like way as William III (1689–1702) or Queen Victoria (1837–1901), who ruled England as the *people* told them to? Which would Washington and Lincoln have said they were doing, governing the United States directly and immediately as

some divine power told them to, or directly and immediately as the people, by voting, told them to, and indirectly by the guidance of God?

Illustrate and talk over the Divine Right of Kings with pupils until the idea and its importance is well understood by them. Lead them to see that persons who have set up the claim that they were ruling by "divine right" have not set it up because they were anxious to rule as God would wish them to, but because they did not wish to consult the people. Lead pupils to realize that the kings desired, by saying that they were ruling by "divine right," to stop all discussion and petition and lawmaking on the part of the people. Which of these ways was the old Roman way of looking at government? Which the early Teutons' way? In old Rome the emperor had himself worshiped as a god and his commands obeyed without question; the early Teuton chief governed his tribesmen only by examples of brave deeds, regarding his followers as essentially his equals. What was Lincoln's view of the true sources of government when he spoke of the United States Republic as "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"?

3. **The instruments of government.** Help children to see what the instruments were (both material and mental) by means of which the two sides (the king and the people) fought out this fierce battle for liberty. Compare the struggle to a game of football with its back and forward human wave of gigantic effort, or to a game of chess or checkers in which every move, even the least, on the one side is watched, and if possible checked, by the opposing side.

4. **English local government.** Review with pupils the various local governments of England, — as county, township, and town, — as a means to the clear understanding of some of the chief local powers which had developed in the

English government by this time; tell them something of the main duties performed by the local officers in carrying on the government of these various units. For example, picture the county life for children; at the head of the county have them see the sheriff, at this time a most dignified and important local officer in England. On occasions of public performance the sheriff was surrounded by much show and ceremony; he carried a white rod, wore official robes; he often had one hundred or more servants in liveries, had stewards, clerks of the kitchen, yeomen of the plate and cupboard, yeomen of the wine cellar, attendants on sheriff's room, an usher of the hall, chamberlains, butlers and butlers' assistants, cooks, scullions, porters, bakers, caterers, slaughterman, poulterer, watchmen for the horses, men to attend the docket door, often twenty or more men to attend upon the prisoners, — altogether a great household. A sheriff was generally a man of means, and each county as a rule had one. His duties were many and varied. He held sessions of court for cases involving not more than ten dollars, for cases of damages, of not paying wages, of not returning borrowed articles, and of a hundred other everyday matters. The sheriff presided over the county election when a new member to Parliament was chosen.

5. **Effect of political discussion.** Picture to pupils the coming together of the gentry and the lower classes to elect members of Parliament; the discussions; what it was their province to discuss; the deciding upon deputies and the final decision of who should be chosen as member of Parliament. Consider with children the influence upon the people of this extensive participation in local government, and help them to see that the strength of the English people is ever growing greater because of the large part which each man takes in the entire government and especially in local affairs.

6. **Education through jury trial.** Review with children the leading steps and facts of a trial by jury. What influence would the experience of the common people, serving on juries continually, have in training them to judge about the king's actions? Lead children to see how the king oftentimes tried to keep the people from using the jury. If the king so desired, could he try persons who offended him, by bringing them before his army officers for punishment? Would the army officers be as likely to give the average farmer, fisherman, merchant, shepherd, and miner as just and patient a trial as the jury would? Make a case in which some one in whom the pupils are interested is to be tried for an offense, and let them say whether they would desire that he be tried by laws carried out by army officers (martial law), or by laws carried out by the judge and jury (civil law).

7. **Civil law and martial law.** Explain to pupils the meaning of martial law and give examples of it. When is it used and why? When is it considered oppressive and why? Explain also the meaning of common law and civil law through examples of cases in the everyday life of the community. Help children to pick out and explain those provisions in the Petition of Right which condemn the use of martial law in times of peace. Give some reasons why, in time of war, persons are sometimes tried by the law of the army rather than by using the slower and more careful way of having a judge and jury. Study what the United States Constitution says about our having in America the right to a trial by jury (Amendments to United States Constitution, Arts. VI and VII).

8. **The writ of Habeas Corpus.** Another instrument which the people fought for and won was the writ of Habeas Corpus. King John had promised in Magna Charta, Art. 40, to give every one justice freely and quickly if he were

accused of wrong; but thousands of times, from the arbitrary rule of King John down almost through the seventeenth century, persons had been treated most unjustly. One way was for kings to throw subjects whom they did not like, or whose influence they feared, into prison and keep them there. The kings would order their imprisonment, the persons would ask why; the king would give no answer. The prisoner through his friends would again demand why; the king would give no answer. The prisoner and his friends would still clamor and petition for their rights; the king would pay no heed, or perhaps take the prisoner to another part of the country or to a foreign country, hide him away, and keep him for years in a prison. From Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights — almost five hundred years — Englishmen came to see more and more clearly how far away this treatment was from what King John promised when he said every accused person should be given a speedy trial. Full of fight for the common people, Parliament passed a law (1679) saying that whenever a prisoner or his friends asked why one was cast into prison and when one could have his trial, the king, through his judges, should tell him immediately what he was imprisoned for and also set the time for the trial. When the judge wrote the command to the jailer, ordering him to bring the prisoner into the court room that he might give him speedy trial as he had promised, he wrote it in Latin. It started out "Habeas Corpus," which means, if the full sentence was filled out: Have the person whom you have thrown into prison in my court room on such and such a day, that I may give him a speedy trial. Because of this Latin sentence it is called the writ, or writing, of Habeas Corpus. From that day to this it has been the aim in England that no one should be thrown into prison without good reason, and this law which the people forced the king

to sign has enabled tens of thousands of people to get a fair and speedy trial in court, who would otherwise have lain in prison as long as the king desired. Did England have colonies in America at this time? When England won this right of Habeas Corpus for herself would the colonial children, such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and the like, be entitled to use it in America? Read and explain this to children: "The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion public safety may require it" (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9, clause 2).

9. **The right of petition.** Another instrument, that is, another great idea, which the people used to fight with just as truly as they fought with sword or gun, was the right to ask the king to do things which they wanted done, or to let things alone which they did not want done. Many English kings, and especially the Stuarts who ruled through most of the seventeenth century (1603–1689), did not want the people to petition them or ask them to do this or to let that alone. They wanted to rule as they pleased and not to be bothered with petitions. But England had been learning so long to practice self-government in city, township, county, and Parliament that she would not give up her right to ask the king to do things and to keep on asking him till he gave an answer; and the right to petition, so the people told the king, must mean that he would hear and discuss the questions with them, and if no sufficient objections could be made to what they wished, he must grant the petition or permit it to be passed into a law. Study with children the Bill of Rights, clause 5; and Amendments to United States Constitution, Art. I.

10. **The right to levy taxes.** Another instrument won by the people to fight arbitrary power with was the pocketbook. The king wanted money all the time and very much

money, for the army at home and abroad, for favorites, and for an extravagant court.

Help children to work out the ways to which the king might resort to obtain money without asking Parliament for it.

(1) By raising ship money. Had England many ships in the seventeenth century? Have children picture commerce in every quarter of the seas. Could the king get a large amount of taxes through ship money if Parliament would permit it?

(2) By assessing taxes called benevolences. Explain to children the forced levies made on the people by the king. If the king were allowed to tax arbitrarily under cover of benevolences, could he get an unlimited amount of money? How would this help him to rule without Parliament?

(3) By requiring wealthy people to become knights, paying rich fees therefor.

(4) By assessing heavy fines for pretended encroachment on the forests, which lands were claimed by the king.

(5) By levying import and export duties.

(6) By taking a large income from great amounts of land, called "crown land," belonging to the king.

Lead children to see that the people may control the king by not letting him get money except as Parliament grants it to him. Point out provisions in Magna Charta, Petition of Right, Bill of Rights, Declaration of Independence, and Constitution of the United States, where it is stated or implied that when people are taxed the tax should be laid by the people themselves, i.e. through their representatives.

11. **Relation of standing army to freedom.** Lead children to see that yet another instrument which is a mighty power, either to push on or hold back freedom in a nation, is a standing army. Explain what is meant by saying that the army is the right arm of the executive power, i.e. of the

king, if in England, or of the President, if in the United States. Show pupils that at times, in England, when the king was very oppressive, the army has refused to support him and has gone to the side of the people.

Recall to children the fact that Magna Charta was won only when most of the army deserted King John and went to the side of the people, and that Oliver Cromwell in the heroic struggle (1640–1649) against the tyranny of Charles I, who ruled from 1625 to 1649, triumphed because both army and people joined in his great cause of freedom. Lead children to see that both England and America have tried to keep their chief executive from ruling arbitrarily, by making it the law that they must depend upon Parliament and Congress for money with which to pay the expenses of the army (Bill of Rights, Arts. 4 and 6, United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 12). By controlling the appropriation of money in this way, the purse controls the army. Parliament, through many centuries of struggle, gradually gaining control of the raising and expenditure of money, and Congress, partly by learning its lesson from England, have come to see and practice the wisdom of the old jingling rhyme:

> For good, for ill, for better, for worse,
> He rules the roast, who rules the purse.

Tell children of the American army, — its size, its cost, its use, its possible abuse; the meaning of militia; the difference between the regular army and the militia. Lead them to see the influence on freedom of having but a small standing army; help them to see the contrast between the United States and the European countries in regard to the necessity of having a large standing army.

12. **The power of Parliament.** Explain to children that the greatest instrument yet devised for fighting out the

freedom of man is the English Parliament and its offspring the United States Congress. For seven hundred years — from Runnymede all the way down the road of Anglo-Saxon history to Independence Hall and Washington City — Parliament and Congress have struggled and fought for liberty. Lead pupils to see that by discussion, petition, protest, remonstrance, and bill; by suffering, patience, labor, and thrilling eloquence, these two fellow-workers — parent and child (Parliament and Congress) — have influenced and guided the secular lives of the human race more than any other power in the world. As a kind of summary review of some of the great steps in the development of Teutonic liberty help children to see in one organic, connected picture the growth of the English Parliament, from Runnymede to the Bill of Rights, and westward across the Atlantic, rooting itself in township, county, and colonial assemblies, and finally in the Congress of the United States. Help them to realize the first meeting at Runnymede (1215); then the meeting for a couple of sessions in 1265–1266; then the meeting together for the first time of all three of the estates (nobles, clergy, and commons) in 1295 (the Model Parliament); then the meeting of Lords and Commons from 1295 to 1377 in one house and after 1377 in separate houses, — Lords and Commons. Lead pupils to see that for two hundred years after the meeting of the houses separately (say to the days of Queen Elizabeth), Parliament was struggling desperately against the king, much of the time barely holding its own; then came the great and spacious days of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), when seamen like Drake, Howard, Hawkins, laid the broad foundation of England's empire, both by land and sea, in every quarter of the globe, inspired by great statesmen, poets, and philosophers of the time; finally picture for children the period from Elizabeth through the seventeenth

century to 1689, in which as fierce a battle as was ever waged between arrogant despotism on the one hand, and the rights of the people on the other, was fought out in Westminster Hall. Picture to pupils the two houses of Parliament which had developed in England — the House of Lords, the House of Commons — and were now in fierce contention with the king.

Compare opportunity for discussion and getting at the truth when meetings are in two houses and discussion free, with opportunity when meetings are in one house and discussion limited. Compare the sifting of thought through many brains to the sifting of grain through many sieves.

13. **Parliament at work.** Help children to realize the historic atmosphere which surrounded these times,—the House of Commons, its size, its speaker, its members; how a debate is carried on, how divisions are made in voting; the house sometimes stormy with passion, sometimes entranced with eloquence, sometimes melted to tears, now disheartened, again as brave as a lion. Help children to see the House of Lords, the Lord Chamberlain who presides, the archbishops, bishops, dukes, earls, marquises, counts, viscounts, nobles, and "woolsack." As an example of the struggle of Parliament against despotic rule, help children to work out in detail the masterful fight which Sir John Eliot, Hampden, Pym, and their colaborers made in the House of Commons in 1629 against the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of members of Parliament by Charles I, against taxation without Parliament's consent, against arbitrary dissolution of Parliament, and against the interference with freedom of speech. How long had the principles for which they fought been growing in England? Aid children to pick out the same principles of liberty in the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of the United States.

Have them express in simple words the principles in Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights; for example, (1) Parliament but not the king must have the right to tax the people; (2) Parliament should meet often, otherwise the king would become arbitrary; (3) the people should have the right to carry swords and guns for defense, otherwise the king would compel them to do anything he wished; (4) the people should be given a just trial by jury, otherwise the military courts would punish them without fair trial; (5) a person accused of crime should be given a speedy trial, otherwise he might be kept in jail for a lifetime; (6) no person should be required to keep soldiers in his house in time of peace; (7) every person should have the right to petition the king and be heard.

FIFTH PERIOD: THE COMPLETE TRIUMPH IN ENGLAND OF THE TEUTONIC PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT. THE RULE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE ENGLISH CABINET, — 1689–1909 A.D.

1. The triumph of the Teutonic idea of government. The ruling idea of this period is that the English government belongs not to the king nor even to the nobility, but to the people; to the people as expressed through Parliament, and especially through that house of Parliament which stands closest to the people, i.e. the House of Commons. Graphically picture to children the relative power and influence of Kings, Lords, and Commons at different periods in the past seven hundred years in English history, thus:

KING JOHN'S TIME: KING, Lords, Commons.
About 1215 A.D.

HENRY VIII'S TIME: King, Lords, Commons.
About 1525 A.D.

PRESENT TIME: King, Lords, COMMONS.

2. **"Divine Right" overthrown.** In the light of the discussion on the growth of English institutions and English liberty, have pupils understand and discuss the following quotation, as fairly summing up the result of the overthrow of the Roman principle of the Divine Right of Kings and the establishment of the divine right of the common man.

"The passing of the Bill of Rights, in 1689, restored to the English monarchy the character which it had lost under the Stuarts. The right of the people, through its representatives, to depose the king, to change the order of succession, and to set on the throne whom they would, was now established. All claim of Divine Right or hereditary right, independent of the law, was formally put an end to by the election of William and Mary (1689). Since their day no English sovereign has been able to advance any claim to the crown save a claim which rested on a particular clause in a particular act of Parliament. William, Mary, and Anne were sovereigns simply by virtue of the Bill of Rights. George the First and his successors have been sovereigns solely by virtue of the Act of Settlement. An English monarch is now as much the creature of an act of Parliament as the pettiest tax-gatherer in his realm." [1]

3. **The House of Commons.** Help pupils to see how in the last two hundred years, and a little more, from 1689 to 1909, England has moved forward until her king has come to have practically no political power, and Parliament has come to have practically all power. Help them to recognize some of the chief steps in the growth of the Teutonic principle of self-government in England, until they see that not only the king, but the lords as well, have practically lost controlling power of Parliament, and that the House of Commons, representing all the people, and especially the common people, has come to have almost complete rule.

[1] Green's *Short History*, p. 673.

4. **The Cabinet.** As the last link in this chain of English liberty, work out a picture of the present English Parliament, emphasizing the growth of the House of Commons, and especially that of the English Cabinet, — a body, as at present constituted, consisting of about twenty great statesmen, — which, as the representative of both the king and people, guides and controls the English empire, and rules, through its legislative and executive work, the most extensive and one of the freest nations in the world. Study the lives of William III, Burke, Pitt, and Gladstone as embodiments of high ideals of English liberty.

IV. THE REFORMATION, — ABOUT 1517 TO THE PRESENT TIME

1. **The Reformation.** By illustration explain the meaning of the word "reformation." A caterpillar re-forms (i.e. forms itself again) when it develops from worm to butterfly; a seed re-forms as it changes from seed to plant; a family, school, a church, a state, is in a process of re-forming as it changes from lower stages of thought and life to higher; give other illustrations. Emphasize the idea that institutions — schools, church, government, business — must continually grow in order to live; and lead children, with this in mind, to see that the time of the Reformation, in a broad view, extends from say 1517, when active discussions of the reform of the Christian Church began under Martin Luther, down to the present time, when they still continue.

2. **The relation of the Renaissance to the Reformation.** Lead children to see the influence of studying and comparing documents of different languages and ages, as the scholars did in the Renaissance movement, with the classical writers, and as the Bible scholars did with different copies of the Old and of the New Testaments; make plain

to children, as in case of documents of Greek and Latin authors, how these copies of the books of the Bible came to differ. Show the relation of the printing press to the cheapening and spreading of the Bible; the relation of the general study of the Bible to each one's ability to form his own opinion about its teaching, and the relation of this habit to the disposition to rely upon one's own judgment in political, social, and business matters. What is the advantage, in a class recitation, of having each student tell freely the way in which he views a subject? What is the advantage to the individual himself? the advantage to the class as a whole? What is the advantage to the individual, and to all sects of religion, — the Jewish, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, — in letting each person freely express his views on a subject pertaining to religion? Would you, if you could do so, have everybody in your own state, or county, or city, a member of just one church, as, for example, the Quaker, the Methodist, the Jew, the Catholic? Why was the provision, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," placed in the Constitution of the United States? Has it tended to strengthen or to weaken our nation? Give reason for your answer. When the Teutonic world was in its childhood was there more reason, or less, than now for having some one, as the monk or priest, to organize the Church and lead it? Should it have yielded more unquestioning obedience to its leaders in its infancy than in its mature age? Why? Compare this idea with that of a parent, thinking for and entirely directing the child when it is very young, then a little less as it grows older, and step by step leading it to self-reliance and self-control as it approaches mature age. Work out the same idea in teaching children of different ages and degrees of development in the schoolroom; work out the same idea both

in the state and in the Church. Have children memorize Amendment I of the United States Constitution.

3. **The development of religious toleration.** Does the study of history, in which we see many varieties and constant change and growth in the opinions and standards of action among men, tend to make us more tolerant and broad-minded in religious matters or less so? Which would be stronger, a nation allowing perfect freedom in forming and expressing opinions in religious life, or one compelling all to think and act alike?

The teacher should here tell the pupils something of the progress of free religious thought in western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, — how it moved slowly but steadily in England and northern Europe, where the Teutonic spirit had been gradually growing stronger for a thousand years, but was finally crushed both in France and Spain, where the spirit of Rome had developed for two thousand years.

4. **The growth of religious sects.** Point out in a sympathetic and impartial way some of the leading facts about the rise of different sects of religion in western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Explain to children that each of the different sects is equally honest and equally earnest in its search for religious truth. Compare the growth of the Christian Church during the first fifteen centuries A.D. to the growth of a tree, — at first the tree comes up as a single sprout, then it branches into two, three, or four limbs; then into a dozen; gradually great forks are formed; but whether forks, branches, limbs, or twigs, they all spring from one common trunk or root. The forks are not necessarily of the same length, the fruit borne on the branches is not exactly of the same size, some specimens may decay before others, but from the time when the tree appears as a tiny sprout till it develops

into a forest giant, it is just *one* tree, with one *general* life and nature and fruit. So the teacher may lead the pupils to see that the Christian Church has spread from one growing trunk into many somewhat varying branches; its first life and imperishable tap-root was the life of the broad-minded, gentle, tolerant, sympathetic founder, Jesus.

The principles of Jesus grew slowly at first but gradually, through millions and millions of noble Christian lives and through the organization of a great Church, spread over all Europe. Help children to enter into sympathy with the plan of great Christians of binding all Europe into one universal Church, and show some of the advantages which would result if such an idea could be completely realized. Show the difficulties of accomplishing such a result.

5. **Religious reformers.** After reviewing this fifteen hundred years' growth of the Christian Church present a picture to children of many religious teachers arising in the next two centuries earnestly discussing religious questions concerning the true interpretation of the Bible and also concerning the forms and practices which the Bible taught should be followed by a Christian. Show children that of necessity different thinkers would have different opinions about the meaning, forms, ceremonies, and organization of the Church, and therefore many different branches would spring up out of the one great mother Church.

Study with pupils the most important reformers, both Catholic and Protestant, as they labored to purify the Church at this time. Erasmus, a great scholar and sharp critic, did much to awaken new thought in the Church; in Germany, Martin Luther, in his religious zeal, criticised the mother Church in 1517 A.D., and took steps which led to the founding of the Lutheran Church; John Calvin went from France to Switzerland, and established there another independent Church called the Presbyterian Church, because

its followers wished themselves ruled by small, independent, local bodies called presbyters. This Church gradually spread its influence through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, largely through Scotland, England, and New England. Other earnest thinkers wished the Church ruled by bishops and founded the Episcopalian Church; still others, because of their prominent use of water in baptism, were called Baptists; and so many religious bodies sprang up in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, — the Methodists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Moravians, United Brethren, and scores of others.

6. **Unity in religion.** Explain to pupils that whatever the name of the religion or whatever the particular thought or form of religious worship through which these various sects developed, the great fact and deepest truth about them all is not that they are essentially different but essentially alike; that they all spring from the inexhaustible loving and serving life of the Great Founder. Help pupils to see that the practice of universal brotherhood in religion helps the whole world to realize that

> Truth is one,
> And in all lands beneath the sun,
> Whoso has eyes to see may see
> The tokens of its unity.

7. **Unity in history.** The pupil is now somewhat prepared to look back over the current of history as it has come down through Babylon, Egypt, Israel, Greece, Rome, and western Europe, and ready to see which of the countries on the western coast of Europe that have developed a national life — England, France, and Spain — have the fullest and freest institutional blood in them. He will be able to see that whichever one of these nations has taken up most fully what the old Orient, the Egyptian, the Jew, the

Christian Church, the Greek, the Roman, the Teuton, had to give to the stream of history, will be the one which will finally win in the race for the New World. He will have seen progressively as he passed through the work of the grades that it is *not any one idea* of one people, but *the sum of all past ideas and principles* of all peoples which makes the broadest foundation for every new advance in history. Thus he will see that whichever one of these nations, standing with its arms stretched to the New World, embodies most fully the sum of all the past, and stands most wisely and completely for the harmonious union of the central government given by Rome, plus the Teutonic idea given by the Teutons, plus the idea of human culture, art, and education given by the Greeks, plus the idea of free investigation and the right of individual judgment and free discussion given by the Crusades, the Renaissance, the printing press, the English Parliament, the Reformation, plus the profound faith in the righteousness of God given by the Jew, — whichever one best represents the whole sum of the immortal ideas of the past, now reblossoming into the new fruit of the freer institutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and raising the *common man* into a true conception of his own worth, will finally inherit and possess the New World, and enter into its freedom.

The sixth-grade work thus prepares the pupil to follow, in the seventh grade, the chief streams of thought brought to America by the western European nations, namely, Spain, France, and England, and to understand the different types of institutions which they planted here. He, likewise, should be able to see why two of these nations, Spain and France, failed in their efforts at civilization in America, and why England succeeded so abundantly.

8. **Freedom the goal of history.** Finally, as the pupil in his imagination crosses into America from Europe, with

this six years of grade work expanding in his mind, he will see something of what history has meant in ages gone by, and what it has cost. He will see more and more clearly that the goal man has ever been struggling for is *freedom;* that the Hebrew who fled from Egyptian bondage, the Greek who fought at Marathon, the Roman who seceded to the Sacred Mount, the Teuton who wandered free in the forest, the saint who sought the cell, the scholar who from Socrates to Darwin strove for untrammeled truth, all have, Prometheus-like, been struggling for freedom, — physical, mental, and moral. The pupil should realize that this struggle has cost much; that it is his privilege and duty to join in its battle, and especially in the battle for the fullest freedom of his own land. As a lofty expression of the unquenchable thirst for human freedom, talk over with children the poem below, and let them memorize it.

O Freedom ! thou art not as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
With which the Roman master crowned his slave
When he took off the gyves. A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth art thou ; one mailed hand
Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword ; thy brow
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars ; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling. Power at thee has launched
His bolts, and with his lightnings smitten thee.
They could not quench the life thou hast from heaven.
Merciless power has dug thy dungeon deep,
And his swart armorers by a thousand fires,
Have forged thy chain, yet, while he deems thee bound,
Thy links are shivered and the prison walls
Fall outward ; terribly thou springeth forth,
As springs the flame above a burning pile,
And shoutest to the nations, who return
Thy shouting, while the pale oppressor flies.

BRYANT

REFERENCES FOR THE SIXTH GRADE

See General Note on Reference Books preceding first-grade references. Attention is also called to the fact that many of the references cited for the fifth grade will be found helpful for the sixth grade.

General Histories

CALLCOTT, LADY. Little Arthur's History of England (juv.). New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1904. $1.25.

CHURCH, A. J. Stories from English History (juv.). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1895. 2 vols. $1.25 each.

COFFIN, C. C. *Story of Liberty (juv.). New York, Harper & Bros., 1878. $3.00.

The story of civil and religious liberty from Magna Charta to the landing of the Pilgrims in America (1215–1621).

COOKE, F. E. *England (juv.). (History for Young Readers.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1904. 60 cents.

CUNNINGHAM, W., and MCARTHUR, E. A. Outlines of English Industrial History. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1896. $1.50.

DICKENS, CHARLES. *Child's History of England. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. $2.50.

FREEMAN, E. A. Old English History for Children. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1869. $1.50.

GARDINER, S. R. *Easy History of England: First Course (juv.). New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. 56 cents.

GARDINER, S. R. *Easy History of England: Second Course (juv.). New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. 56 cents.

GARDINER, S. R. Student's History of England. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. $3.00.

GIBBINS, H. DE B. Industrial History of England. London, Methuen & Co., 1894. 2 shillings 6 pence.

GREEN, J. R. *Short History of the English People. New York, American Book Company, 1884. $1.20.

Especially good on social life. The illustrated edition, published by Harper & Bros., at $20.00, is preferable.

GUERBER, H. A. Story of the English. (Eclectic School Readings.) New York, American Book Company, 1898. 65 cents.

KEMP, E. W. History for Graded and District Schools (juv.). Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

MORRIS, CHARLES. Historical Tales: English (juv.). Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1897. $1.25.

SCOTT, WALTER. * Tales of a Grandfather: being the History of Scotland. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1889. 40 cents.

TRAILL, H. D., and MANN, J. S. (eds.). * Social England. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. King Edward illus. ed. 6 vols. $5.00 each.

A comprehensive history of the progress of the people in religion, laws, learning, arts, industry, commerce, science, literature, and manners.

WARD, A. W., *et al.* (eds.). Cambridge Modern History (planned by Lord Acton). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902–1908. 12 vols. $3.50 each.

WARREN, H. P. Stories from English History from B.C. 55 to A.D. 1901 (juv.). Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1902. 65 cents.

Simple stories, with attractive illustrations.

Source Books

HILL, MABEL. Liberty Documents. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. $2.00.

LEE, G. C. * Source Book of English History. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1905. $2.00.

University of Pennsylvania. Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898–1899. 20 cents each.

Crusades (Vol. I, Nos. 2, 4; Vol. III, No. 1); Reformation (Vol. I, No. 1; Vol. II, Nos. 5, 6; Vol. III, Nos. 3, 6).

See also the work of Adams and Stephens mentioned below.

Parliamentary Government

ADAMS, G. B., and STEPHENS, H. M. Select Documents of English Constitutional History. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1906. $2.25.

FIRTH, C. H. Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. $1.50.

GILMAN, ARTHUR (ed.). Magna Charta Stories (juv.). Boston, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1882. $1.00.

JANE, L. C. *Coming of Parliament: England from 1350 to 1660. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905. $1.50.

MACDONAGH, MICHAEL. *Book of Parliament. London, Isbister & Co., 1897. $2.00.

MORLEY, JOHN. Oliver Cromwell. New York, The Century Company, 1900. $3.50.

SEELEY, J. R. Expansion of England. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1905. $1.75.

Treats of England and her colonies.

TASWELL-LANGMEAD, T. P. English Constitutional History, from the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Time. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896. $6.00.

Comprehensive and scholarly.

Historical Geography

GARDINER, S. R. (ed.). *School Atlas of English History. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. 5 shillings.

MACCOUN, TOWNSEND. *Historical Geography Charts of Europe: Mediæval and Modern. New York, Silver, Burdette & Co., n.d., $15.00.

MACKINDER, H. J. Britain and the British Seas. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1902. $2.00.

The aim of the author is to present a picture of the physical features and condition of the region, and to trace their influence upon the people.

REICH, EMIL. A New Student's Atlas of English History. London, The Macmillan Company, 1903. $3.25.

Contains some good maps, with descriptive letterpress, not found in Gardiner's "Atlas."

Crusades

ARCHER, T. A., and KINGSFORD, C. L. *The Crusades: the Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. (Story of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895. $1.50.

CHURCH, A. J. The Crusaders (juv.). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905. $1.75.

Story of the First, Third, and Eighth Crusades, with the legend of "The Wandering Jew" as a connecting link.

COX, G. W. *The Crusades. (Epochs of Modern History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. $1.00.

DOUGLAS, AMANDA M. Heroes of the Crusades (juv.). Boston, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1889. $1.50.

MOMBERT, J. I. Short History of the Crusades. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1894. $1.50.

Reformation

BALMÈS, J. European Civilization. Baltimore, John Murphy & Co., 1850. $3.00.

From the Catholic point of view.

EMERTON, EPHRAIM. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. $1.50.

FISHER, G. P. Reformation. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. $2.50.

JACOBS, H. E. *Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. $1.50.

SEEBOHM, FREDERIC. *Era of the Protestant Revolution. (Epochs of Modern History.) New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. $1.00.

SERGEANT, LEWIS. John Wyclif. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893. $1.50.

WALKER, WILLISTON. John Calvin, the Organizer of Reformed Protestantism, 1509–1564. (Heroes of the Nations.) New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. $1.50.

Renaissance

BLADES, WILLIAM. Pentateuch of Printing. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1891. $4.50.

BURCKHARDT, JACOB. *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1898. $4.00.

EINSTEIN, LEWIS. Italian Renaissance in England. (Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.) New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902. $1.50.

FIELD, LILIAN F. An Introduction to the Study of the Renaissance. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. $1.50.

GOODYEAR, W. H. Renaissance and Modern Art. (Chautauqua Reading Circle Literature.) New York, The Macmillan Company, 1894. $1.00.

LAURIE, S. S. Rise and Early Constitution of Universities. (International Education Series.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1886. $1.50.

PARKER, J. H. A B C of Gothic Architecture. London, James Parker & Co., 1896. $1.25.

SYMONDS, J. A. *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy (taken from the work of J. A. Symonds by A. Pearson). New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1894. $1.75.

Illustrative Historical Fiction

BULWER-LYTTON, E. G. E. Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1896. $1.25.

Story of the times of Edward the Confessor, and the Norman Conquest (1066).

CRAWFORD, F. MARION. Via Crucis. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899. $1.50.

Story of the Second Crusade (1147).

HALE, E. E. In His Name. Boston, Roberts Bros., 1887. $1.00.

A story of the Waldenses.

MACDONALD, GEORGE. St. George and St. Michael. Philadelphia, David McKay, n.d. $1.25.

Story of the Civil War and Raglan Castle (1645–1648).

PYLE, HOWARD. Men of Iron (juv.). New York, Harper & Bros., 1891. $2.00.

A romance of Henry IV (1400). Manners and customs of the Middle Ages shown in the pictures.

READE, CHARLES. Cloister and the Hearth. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. $1.25.

Introduces Erasmus, Luther, Froissart, and others (1470).

SCOTT, SIR WALTER. Talisman. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., n.d. $2.00.

Story of the Third Crusade (1193).

YONGE, CHARLOTTE M. Prince and the Page. Boston, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1881. $1.00.

Story of the Eighth Crusade (1270–1272).

OUTLINE OF THE SEVENTH-GRADE WORK

The seventh-grade work may be studied under three general movements:

I. The development of the three chief streams of institutional life — Spanish, French, and English — in America, with a view to understanding the struggle of Spain, France, and England for the mastery in the New World, resulting in the triumph of England over the French at Quebec in 1759, and in the Treaty of Paris which followed, 1763. This triumph of England opened an undisputed road to English institutions from the Atlantic seacoast back to the heart of the continent, — the Mississippi valley.

II. The struggle and final triumph of the English colonies in America to establish the Teutonic principle, — the right of local self-government on American soil, 1763–1783. This includes the movement from 1763 (the treaty closing the English struggle with the French), to 1783 (the treaty closing the struggle of the United States with England), marks the triumph of the Teutonic principle in the successful Revolutionary War, and establishes the principle announced in the Declaration of Independence, — All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

III. The balancing in a written constitution of the two principles of government, — the local (that given by the Teuton) and the central (that given by the Roman). This includes the movement from 1783 till the final adoption of the Constitution in 1789. The Constitution should be studied at this point with a view to understanding the

powers granted by it to the general government and the powers that still remained in the hands of the people in their local governments, — states, counties, townships, and cities.

The Crossing of the Stream of Liberty from Europe to America and its Growth under New Environment

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THREE CHIEF STREAMS OF INSTITUTIONS

A. The Spanish Civilization in America

1. **Environment.** Study with pupils the physical environment of Spanish settlements in America, — their climate, soil, rivers, mountains, minerals, plants; compare these with similar conditions in Spain, and with conditions in the English and French colonies to the north. Here make graphic for children the extensive agricultural and mineral resources of the West India Islands and of the Caribbean Sea; also picture to them the resources of both South and Central America; and discuss with them whether, if manual labor had been regarded as honorable, and had been engaged in by all, Spain could have built up a great power in the New World.

2. **Government.** Help pupils to see that as the people came from Spain and engaged in various occupations, laws would have to be made in regard to agriculture, trade, punishment of criminals, enslaving of Indians, marriage, divorce, and matters pertaining to the relation of the home country to her American colonies. Help children to realize that officers would either have to grow up in the colonies or be sent there by the mother country, — Spain. Name the chief officers, say how long they served, how they were

paid, and who appointed them. Did they generally come from Spain or from among the colonists themselves? Did they have local self-government, as townships and counties, in which the Spanish colonists in general voted for the local officers? Make clear the value of local self-government to those who are able to take a hand in it. When difficulties between persons arose in the Spanish colonies, and they went to court to settle these difficulties, would they have a right to be tried by a jury, or would they be tried by the governor or the army officers, as was often the case in Spain at that time? Who would give them the most sympathetic and the fairest chance for a just trial? Picture to children the harsh life which grew up on the Spanish plantations and in the mines, and help them to see the probability of the lower classes being unfairly treated by their masters, and the difficulty for the common man of getting a fair and just trial before a court made up of army officers. Did the people tax themselves? Compare the government in the Spanish colonies with that developed in Rome during the last 500 years of its life, as seen in the fourth grade. Compare the Roman governor with the Spanish governor; the Roman taxation with the Spanish taxation; the early Teutonic life with the early Spanish colonial life. Make clear the difference between colonies ruled wholly by the crown and those ruled by local assemblies chosen by the people.

3. **Religion.** Review with children the time of the discovery of America, telling how long it was from the discovery of America to the opening of the great religious discussion —the Reformation—which began in 1517 in Europe; then help them to imagine the spreading of Spain through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries around the Caribbean Sea, through the West India Islands, and over Central and South America, and Mexico. Help children

to decide whether, since the Spanish colonies were willing to receive their political rule from the home country, they would also be willing to obey the religious rule as sent out by Spain. Would they freely permit the incoming and settlement of Jews, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Quakers, Congregationalists, and others into their colonies? What is the result upon the religious life of the people of permitting, age after age, but one religion in a country, and keeping all others out? Compare the result of free discussion of religious questions among the people of a country with free discussion in a class; with free discussion in government.

4. **Industry.** Review with pupils the growth of commerce as it developed around the Mediterranean Sea in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries; help them to see the entire Mediterranean covered with the sails of commerce, extending from eastern Asia and the Indian Ocean to western Europe, exchanging meats, grains, silks, and wines of Europe for pearls, spices, woods, shawls, silks, furs, and precious stones of the Orient. Help pupils to imagine this commerce cut in two by the Turks' barbaric invasion of Asia and the capture of Constantinople (1453), and let pupils devise means by which the riches of Asia may still be gathered from China and India; thus set them to seeking a passage around southern Africa, around northern Europe, and straight out westward through the Atlantic Ocean. Have them realize the large conceptions of Columbus, and follow the Spaniards from the days of Columbus, from the sixteenth on through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in their eager search for the precious metals of the western world.

Did the Spanish colonies themselves engage largely in clearing the land, developing agriculture, manufactures, and commerce? Was the climate suited for field labor by the

white population? Did the white people perform the labor in the mines or did they have it done by slaves? What is the objection to having the work of a country done by slaves, as the Spanish colonists did? What was the effect of slavery upon the masters; upon the slaves themselves? Does slavery tend to keep a thrifty middle class of laborers in a country or to drive it out? Did the colonists mine the gold themselves, or did they have the slaves to do it? Did the colonists use the gold they obtained in developing Spanish colonial life, — as schools, newspapers, agriculture, manufactures, free government; or were they compelled to send it back to Spain? If sent back to Spain, show both its good and its bad effects in enriching the home country; for instance, might it help to work out freedom in Spain by giving the people a means of paying off their debts just as they chose, rather than by military and feudal service, as they had been compelled to do in feudal days? Was it the Spanish theory and practice that the colony existed for the home country or for itself? Which is better? Compare the ideal government of colonies by a parent country to the ideal government of children by a parent.

5. **Education.** Help children to see whether Spain took up the spirit of the Renaissance (free schools, free religion, free discussion, free press); whether she developed it at home, brought it over to America, and planted it throughout the New World in political, religious, educational, industrial, and social equality. Show relation of slavery to free schools and general educational opportunities, and help pupils to see that the labor in the Spanish colonies was done by the ignorant mass, and that education was enjoyed by the favored few.

6. **Social life.** Did the Spanish generally come to America to establish homes? In social life did they tend to sink to the level of the natives or to draw the natives up to their

level? Was it the tendency of Spanish life in America to place the people on a common level of opportunity, giving all an equal chance in wealth, government, and culture? Help pupils to tell what they can in favor of having titles and ranks of people in a nation, and then let them tell what they can against it. Discuss and memorize what the Constitution of the United States says as to the United States or any individual state granting titles of nobility (Art. I, Sec. 9, clause 7).

7. **Final results.** Sum up Spanish life and lead pupils to see that Spain was not carrying to the New World any of the ideas of freedom which were seen growing in Europe throughout the sixth-grade work — Renaissance, Parliament, Reformation. Lead them to see that, although Spain did some good through ruler and priest, so far as elevating the natives was concerned, yet in respect to elevating her colonists or her people at home, she had no new ideas to give. Spain planted in the New World the old seed of Roman absolutism and the mediæval seeds of feudal aristocracy, and her four hundred years of rule in America (from 1500–1900) had, at the end of the nineteenth century, when she finally fell, developed no new seeds in the new soil. Spanish life in America was founded on the sand,—literally golden sand, but when floods of difficulties came, its slender base was washed away and Spain disappeared from America. Spain was in America for gold. No nation has ever grown great and remained strong upon material wealth alone. It must base its life on some immortal principle of humanity. Spain brought old ideas to the New World, the New World rejected them, and Spain fell.

Note to Teacher. With a map of the world before them the teacher should step by step trace out with pupils, first the territorial expansion and material resources of Spain throughout North America, South America, the islands of the Caribbean Sea and around the Gulf

of Mexico, then the gradual decay and final death of her power in America. Estimate the extent of Spain's American territory as compared with that of France and England in 1600, 1700, 1763, 1800, 1820, 1835. Why did Spain's colonies separate from the mother country later than England's did? Show the relation of the Monroe Doctrine to the separation of Spain's colonies from the home country.

B. French Civilization in America

1. Early steps in French civilization. Review with children the time at which the Portuguese and Spanish civilizations sprang up and became the most powerful nations of western Europe, i.e. the Portuguese during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, and the Spanish during the last half of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries. Then show pupils how both France and England arose, and as Rome and Carthage fought in ancient times over the Mediterranean Sea, so now France and England through the seventeenth and more than the first half of the eighteenth century struggled for the mastery of the Atlantic Ocean and the richest river course in the world — the St. Lawrence-Mississippi valley.

Review with children the facts that the French people had been unable to develop self-government in France; that the French king abolished the legislative Assembly (the Estates-General) in 1614; that it met no more for a hundred and seventy-five years (1789); that this one hundred and seventy-five-year rule was the most despotic ever known in Europe. Lead pupils to say whether French people coming from France to America would therefore probably come with experience of working in legislatures, or with the purpose of setting up in America legislatures and other agencies for self-government, — such as right of trial by jury, right to tax themselves, writ of Habeas Corpus, small local assemblies.

Take up with pupils a study of the expansion of French colonial institutions as they developed from their first planting near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, 1608, at Quebec, to the mouth of the Mississippi River, 1718, at New Orleans, and note their purpose and effort to join these extremities from mouth to mouth into one vast empire, stretching from the Appalachian to the Rocky Mountains.

2. **Geographical conditions.** Lead pupils to imagine the French people coming from their homes in northwestern France, and establishing fishing posts on the banks of Newfoundland, on Cape Breton Island, and in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Tell them of the abundance of fish that gathered here in the rocky ocean and river mouths; help them in imagination to go on a fishing trip for whale, cod, and mackerel with these bold fishermen; to dry their fish upon the banks and sell them in France. Now lead pupils to enter in imagination the mouth of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, to spend both winter and summer with the fur hunters and fishermen as they roamed the woods, sailed the lakes, and paddled their birch canoes up and down the rivers. Help them to tan the skins and to find a market for them back in their home country. Compare the climate which these colonists experienced with the climate experienced in the Spanish colonies; note the effect of the climate, soil, rivers, forests, animals, upon the daily life of the people.

3. **Industry.** Out of these geographical surroundings help pupils to see how the lives of the French people were molded, largely by the conditions, into a wandering, roistering, happy-go-lucky set of seamen, rivermen, and woodsmen, rarely settling down for any length of time in any one place, but roaming and trading from year to year through the forests, often with only the animals and Indians for associates in the unbroken woods. Help the pupils to see

that this life of fishing and hunting could only be carried on profitably by keeping the forests and streams full of animals, that, therefore, the French woodsmen, as they passed ever backwards and forwards through the two great valleys, thought little of agriculture but much of furs, and tried to keep the forests from being cut down.

4. **Government.** Help pupils to see that under these conditions, wandering from place to place, many great centers of government, such as courthouses and statehouses, could not grow up, and that instead there were mainly military posts scattered at long distances through the woods, in which an officer, in the name of the despotic French king, held court. Thus lead pupils to see that the condition in the French colonies for close, compact, self-reliant local government, in which people in general took a part, was very unfavorable, and that the century and a half of French rule in America established the same idea that Louis XIV (1643–1715) had taught to the people of France, namely, that governments belong not to the people but to kings, and that kings rule the people by divine right and not by the peoples' right.

5. **Religion.** Review for pupils the movement of the Reformation. Tell how long it had been from the opening of the Reformation down to the days of the first permanent settlement of the French in Quebec (1608), and how long from 1608 down to the days of the conquest of the French in America (1763). Tell pupils of the faithful, conscientious, self-sacrificing work of the Jesuit missionaries, who sought to elevate the lives of the Indians; also explain that the French religious policy in America, like that at home, was to establish one form of religion instead of permitting and encouraging free discussion and free practice of every form of religious life. Tell pupils something of the coming of the French Huguenots to America, who,

not being kindly received by their own kin in the St. Lawrence valley, on account of their religion, scattered along the Atlantic coast among the English and added excellent strength to the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon stream.

6. **Education.** Would this forest life as now seen be favorable for the establishment of a system of free common schools? Would the Indians, for example, go to school? Would the Church wish public schools for the children? Would the rangers of the woods generally have families? Would there be many children? Thus lead pupils to see that conditions were very unfavorable for a general school system, and that there were no schools except those controlled by the Church. Was the printing press and the production of books, Bibles, manuscripts, and literature, such as was seen in the days of the Renaissance, active with the French people in America?

7. **Social life.** As a summary of the social conditions of French life in America, help pupils to see that the same ranks and classes of people which ruled in France, — as dukes, counts, viscounts, earls, marquises, — were the dominating class in the meager social life of America; and that France was not in America to plant equality of opportunity or to establish the home, but that her leading motives here were to fish, hunt, and build a vast military empire, just as Spain's motives were to dig gold and rule as absolutely as ever was done by a Cæsar. France had no great idea upon which to build her life and institutions, and was therefore easily jostled over and supplanted by the English colonists when they had spread from the Atlantic seacoast westward, far enough to cross the Alleghenies and claim the Ohio and the larger reaches of the Mississippi valley (1754–1763). Help pupils to see that both Spain and France were attempting to plant in America the Roman principle of rule, that is, the absolute rule of one man, and were unable to plant in

the new field the new idea of government — the inborn right of man to rule himself; France and Spain therefore fell.

C. English Civilization in America

1. **English background.** Review with pupils the work done in the sixth grade on the growth of English institutions. Study the series of maps in MacCoun's *Historical Charts,* showing how England, from Middle-Age time down to the discovery of America, had had her face turned to continental Europe, and was struggling with men and money to build up a great empire, reaching from her own little island back to the continent and over France. Help pupils to see by maps how England gradually lost her continental territories, and therefore that if she would keep up with the great race which the nations of western Europe were running for commercial power and extensive territorial possessions, she must turn her face away from this continental dream out into the broad Atlantic.

2. **Westward expansion.** Starting with John Cabot (1497) help pupils to see England reaching in every direction on the seas — to the north and around northern Europe for whale, to the northwest, hunting for fish and fur, to Hudson's Bay, Davis's Strait, and Baffin's Bay, hunting for seal and walrus; straight west from England, through the Atlantic, up the Hudson River and the wide bays and estuaries of the Atlantic seacoast, seeking not only to find a passage to the old Oriental lands, but also to find new fields for commerce both by land and sea.

3. **Mastery of the sea.** Follow with pupils through the sixteenth century the bold and fearless struggle which the English buccaneers waged over the entire Atlantic and Pacific, finally mastering her then greatest enemy, Spain, in the battle of the Armada (1588). Help them to see that this great event gave England such an opportunity as she

had never had before, to move into the harbors, bays, and river mouths of the Atlantic coast and to struggle with France and Spain for the mastery of the New World.

4. **Permanent English life.** Then help pupils to plant the first permanent English life on the Atlantic coast (1607), and to go forth in imagination for the next hundred and fifty years, cutting down the woods, bridging the streams, building the roads, planting the fields, building mills, establishing schools, erecting churches, and scattering various forms of local government, such as townships, counties, and parishes, from Maine to Georgia, in which the people, with an industry like that of the bee, ever worked out and applied, day by day, the principle that every man has a right to, and must if he would be free, take part in ruling himself. Help pupils to see that thus, through a hundred and fifty years (1608–1763), the English colonies expanded from the Atlantic seacoast to the crest of the Appalachian Mountains, and began to creep westward through the valleys of the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland, where they came into contact with the French stream.

5. **Physical environment.** Help pupils to see the rivers, mountains, valleys, plains, soil, rocks, plants, animals, temperature, rainfall, and natural products from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Georgia. Work out with them the width of the plain extending through the entire length of the Atlantic seacoast and back to the roots of the Appalachian Mountains ; have them see the numerous waterfalls with their possible use for manufactures, the fish in the seas, the animals of the forests, as the turkey, the deer, the beaver, the mink, the muskrat. Help them to work out how these various physical features would influence the lives of the people by giving them food, clothing, homes, and determining the kinds of occupations which they could profitably follow, as boat building, fishing, engaging in

agriculture, or manufacturing in their homes the products brought from the waters, woods, fields, and mines.

6. **Industries.** Help pupils to determine what products could be produced on different parts of the Atlantic coast plain, such as tobacco, rice, and indigo in the South; wheat, flour, corn, hay, and salt in the center; boats, fish, anchors, sperm oil, wool, and leather in the North. Where could these products be sold? Would England encourage the colonists to grow and manufacture every kind of product, even if her own farmers and manufacturers were producing the same in England? Discuss with pupils England's commercial policy toward her colonies and help them to see that it was like the policy of France and Spain, that is, that the colonies existed for the home country, and that they ought not to grow anything or make anything which the merchants and farmers in England could produce and sell to America; that therefore the English Parliament in the last half of the seventeenth century, and through the colonial days of the eighteenth century tried, as both Spain and France did, to discourage such American industries as would interfere with the English home commerce and manufactures. Help pupils, however, to see that with three thousand miles of Atlantic Ocean between the home country and the ever-growing and expanding colonists, and with hundreds of ships and thousands of hand looms owned by the colonists through the last of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, it would not be easy for England to watch the industrial life of America closely enough to keep the people from disobeying the laws passed by Parliament.

7. **Government.** Help pupils to review briefly the growth of England from the earliest times down to the time of the Bill of Rights (1689), as seen in the sixth-grade work; then help them to come to America and work out during the first one hundred and fifty years of life on the Atlantic

seacoast the institutions and instruments for governing themselves which they set up here; help them to see that the English colonists slowly, but persistently and with ever-increasing determination, set up exactly the same instruments of free government which the Teuton struggled for in the German and English woods, that is, a parliament or discussing place, a jury, a right of speedy and just trial when accused of wrong, a right to levy taxes on themselves and say what they should be spent for, a right to fix and pay the governor's salary instead of permitting the king to arbitrarily pay it. Thus help pupils to see that independent government started in the German forests, spread to England, came across the Atlantic in the Mayflower compact, planted itself more surely in the constitution of Connecticut (the first written constitution in America), still more deeply rooted itself in township, county, and colonial government throughout the colonies, and finally gave expression to itself in the imperishable documents, — the Declaration of Independence, the Ordinance of 1787, and the Constitution of the United States. As a type of local government study in detail with pupils the government of a township in New England, working out the every-day life of the people, such as the building of roads, taking care of the unfortunate and poor, providing for keeping up stray stock, for education, and for taxation.

Work out the government of a county in one of the southern colonies; compare it with that of township government in the North. Would the people live as close together in the South as they did in the North? Would a common feeling of equality grow up between the lower and the upper classes in the South, where mingling was not as common among all as in the North, where the tendency was more for each one to stand on a common level with all the others? Study with pupils a typical example

of the union of these two kinds of local government—the township government and the county government—as it grew up in the central colonies, New York and Pennsylvania, for example, and compare this type of local government with the two types already considered. Help pupils to see that when these three types of local government—the township, the county, and the township-county government—are deeply rooted on the Atlantic coast they will nourish themselves in the lives of the people, and will grow ever westward to the foot of the Appalachian Mountains, cross these barriers, and finally expand through the Mississippi valley and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Compare the influence of local government as seen among the English colonists with the influence of no local government as seen among the French and Spanish.

8. **Religion.** Review with pupils the work of the Reformation and the work of the unified Christian Church in the centuries just preceding the Reformation. Help them to see the great good that the unbroken Christian Church had rendered to the world; help them to see how religious life, just as political, industrial, and educational life, must grow in order to live. Then review with pupils the opening of the Reformation spirit in the countries of western and especially of northern Europe; help them to see how different nations, as England, different German states, Holland, and others, had different opinions about religion and religious worship, and that not only nations, but also different individuals, came to have independent religious ideas.

Discuss with pupils the springing up and spreading of some of the most important of these religious opinions, as the Presbyterian in Scotland, the Episcopalian and Quaker in England, the Huguenot in France, the Lutheran and Moravian in Germany, and so on. Help pupils to see that since the roots of religion were planted very deep already

throughout all Europe, it was but natural, when these great religious differences sprang up, that those greatly stirred with religious thought, and with strong desire to plant this thought somewhere in the world, should come to the extensive fields of America, where the very breadth of the territory offered every man a chance — if he did not like the religion in the community where he lived — to go into some unsettled portion and plant there whatever religion he liked.

Help pupils to see the coming over from England of the Puritans; what they came for, what ideas they wanted to work out, whether they were broad-minded enough at first to give other people a free chance to work out their religious ideas likewise, or, like other earnest Christians, — both Catholics and Protestants, — had to have experience and time for thought before they could practice what they preached and do by others as they would wish to be done by. See, likewise, the springing up of the Baptist religion in Rhode Island through Roger Williams; discuss sympathetically what his religion was, wherein it was like others and wherein different; notice the greatness of his teaching that religion is a thing in each man's soul and therefore ought not to be controlled by any power outside of himself.

Study the life and character of George Fox, the founder of the Quaker religion, and of William Penn, who spread the ideas and purposes of Quakerism throughout Pennsylvania. Study the life of Lord Baltimore, the broad-minded Catholic, who established in Maryland a Catholic colony, but gave the most liberal opportunities in this colony for each one to worship as he thought best. Study the thought and organization of the Episcopal as the most prominent religious sect which grew up in Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, throughout the colonial period, and greatly influenced the religious thought of the South.

Having seen all of these various religions spring up in Europe and cross to the Atlantic seacoast, let children picture their growth westward as a score of religious streams expand through the seventeenth and the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. Help pupils to see that it would be relatively easy for many different religions to develop in America, and for each person to have a much more liberal chance to follow his own conscience in religious life and thought, than it had ever been possible for him to have in Europe or at any time in the history of the world.

9. **Education.** Review with pupils the time of the invention of the printing press, and say how long it had been invented when the first permanent English life was settled on the Atlantic seashore; review, likewise, the work of the Renaissance, the bringing about a stronger and more independent spirit of research to the scholars of Europe through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than had existed before. Help pupils to think whether this intense desire for knowledge born in the Renaissance and this passionate earnestness to establish and spread new religious thought would need and find an instrument to help these scholars to accomplish this work. Thus lead pupils to understand that when the Puritan, the Quaker, the Baptist, and others came to America, their desire that their children should have the same religious opinion that they had, led them to establish up and down the Atlantic slope, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some kind of schools, — in the North, generally, public schools, because the people were gathered close together in their township organizations; in the center, some public and some private schools; and in the South, almost entirely private schools. Help pupils to see that the public school, although narrow at first and joined to the Church, gradually expanded into

one of the most vital institutions which sprang up among the self-reliant English colonists.

Help pupils to see the reason why these different types of schools — public and private — sprang up, and to say which, upon the whole, is best for the whole mass of the people, and why. Help them to see how the elementary schools gave a taste for still higher and more liberal education, and that therefore colleges and universities gradually sprang up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which tended to bring light, independence, and the spirit of the Renaissance westward into the American woods, and to spread out a broader and freer educational life than had been possible when the state was entirely under the control of the Church in developing education. Have pupils locate Harvard, Yale, Brown, Columbia, Princeton, and William and Mary's, and have them tell how these would help in developing the free institutional life in America.

10. **Social life.** Review with pupils the ranks of nobility seen in the countries of Europe, as studied in the fifth and sixth grades; have pupils name titles of nobility, as counts, dukes, earls, etc. Discuss why these numerous ranks grow up in the governments of men; review the fact that both the Spanish and the French life in America was largely based upon different ranks and classes of society; help pupils to point out the chief efforts which were made by the English colonies to set up distinctive ranks of nobility in America and help them to see why these efforts failed in the case of the Grand Model with its short life in South Carolina and in that of the patroon government set up by the Dutch in New York. Help pupils to see the difference in tendency between social life in a French fishing or hunting camp and that on a New England farm; help them to follow the stream of English colonial life westward, from the Atlantic Coast to the Appalachian Mountains, each

individual getting slowly but surely a better chance to make the most and best out of his life. With these two streams of national life — the French and the English — now more than a thousand years rooted back in European history, and one of them (the French) ever exalting the king and nobility, the other (the English) slowly lifting the level of the common man, help pupils to see what was really at stake when the two streams of civilization — Roman and Teuton — met on the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains and contended for the Mississippi valley; help them to realize that this was the first great crisis in American history and a chief event in the history of the world.

As a summary help students to see that France and her colonies developed in America the Roman principle; England, the Teutonic. France meant government by an absolute king; England, government by the people. France meant schools controlled by the Church; England meant free schools. France meant one religion for all; England, free discussion and free worship for every religious faith. France meant no printing press or a press under censors; England meant a free press. France meant feudal labor; England, prevailingly free labor. France meant social customs much on a level with the Indians of the forest; England, an ever-increasing purity of social life. Thus help pupils to see that the highest motive of the human race — freedom — met and struggled with its enemy — despotism — in 1763 at Quebec, and like despotism and freedom in mighty battle at Marathon between Greek and barbarian, so at Quebec between French and English, despotism and freedom struggled for the possession of a vast continent, and *freedom* won.

NOTE. In speaking of the civilization of different peoples as above, it is meant to indicate merely *the ruling tendency*, not what would be found completely worked out in every individual case.

II. THE STRUGGLE AND FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES TO ESTABLISH THE TEUTONIC PRINCIPLE, THE RIGHT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT, 1763–1783

1. **Steps toward freedom.** Review the agencies already studied in the development of the English colonies, from their first settlement down to 1750, which taught them self-reliance and love of self-government. Review the fierce climate, rocky soil, stormy fishing trips, and commercial adventures on the ocean; the township and county life; the common schools; the struggles against royal governors and against arbitrary taxation; the struggle with Indians; the relations with the Dutch and French; the electing of local legislatures and serving in them; the establishing of court systems, and applying the principles of jury trial and the writ of Habeas Corpus in them; the electing oftentimes of their own governors, and always claiming the right to determine their salaries; and the carrying on of the industrial pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and manufacture largely by free labor.

2. **Divine Right.** Lead pupils to see that George III and his friends (but not therefore the majority of the English common people), notwithstanding all the liberty which the English people had worked out, undertook (1763–1783) in the case of the American colonies to apply the principle of one-man power (the Roman); that the Americans thereupon immediately seized the instruments and principles which the Teutonic race had been developing for fifteen hundred years, — namely, the township government, the county government, the colonial legislature, jury trial, writ of Habeas Corpus, free discussions, right of petition, right to tax one's self, right to go to war, right to control the army by annual appropriation for its support, right to overturn an arbitrary ruler just as had been done with arbitrary

chiefs in the early German woods, — and with these principles and instruments, and in the name of the whole course of Teutonic liberty, met and forever overcame, so far as the Anglo-Saxon race was concerned, the old principle of one-man rule embodied in George III, and in the commercial classes in England, which just at that time had forgotten Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights in their struggle for wealth. In this the pupil may be led to see that Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Burke, Pitt, Henry, Franklin, and others of that day fought by tongue, pen, and sword, not alone for America but also for England, and not alone for both England and America but for the whole Teutonic race, and for its living principle, the right of local self-government and the worth of man as man, — a principle born and nourished in the German woods in their little local assemblies before the birth of either England or America. Study here the Declaration of Independence, and see that it is an argument for the right of the people to set up or overturn any government that does not grow out of the people and loyally serve them. Help children to select important principles of liberty which the Declaration of Independence says the king had violated, and help them to give examples of when and where these violations occurred. Talk over with pupils the Declaration and help them change the forms of expression into simple expressions of their own. Help pupils to work out the Declaration as an argument for the equality of man, and have them memorize the first two and the last three paragraphs.

3. **The Revolution.** Take up with pupils the study of the Revolutionary War and help them to see the chief military events, but especially have them see how the seven years of fighting, thinking, and suffering together would tend to break down, to some degree, the local colonial feeling of the people and give them one national spirit and purpose.

Help the pupil to devise means for raising money, men, and food for carrying on the war. How could the local government help in this work? How could the central government help in it? Show pupils how the war would tend to nourish the feeling of central government and the feeling of patriotism; have them, as examples of military experiences to imagine a winter spent at Valley Forge, and an expedition against Burgoyne, and finally have them sum up all those agencies which tended to bind the people into one central life and government. Study the treaty of 1783, closing the war, as an example of how treaties were made, who made them, and what was their purpose.

III. THE BALANCING IN A WRITTEN CONSTITUTION OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT, LOCAL (THAT GIVEN BY THE TEUTON) AND CENTRAL (THAT GIVEN BY THE ROMAN), 1783–1789

This includes the movement from 1783 to the adoption of the Constitution in 1788, and the inauguration of the government under it in 1789.

1. **Written Constitution.** Review with pupils the efforts made by England in Magna Charta (1215) down to the Bill of Rights (1689) to express the principles of her constitution in written form: namely, first, Magna Charta; second, the Petition of Right; and third, the Bill of Rights. Help them to see the advantage which a people secure in their struggles with arbitrary power if they can write down in plain terms the fundamental principles which guide and control the life of the government. Review with pupils the fact that England did not at one particular time, and never has to the present, as America has, written out her constitution and had it solemnly agreed to by all of her people, but that the great English documents named above

mark the mountain peaks of her political struggles as Parliament has slowly but persistently worked them out and expressed them in her laws. Help pupils to see that therefore, when the English came to America, it was but natural that they should take up and develop, both in their colonial and in their central government, the already half-learned lesson of writing out in black and white the principles upon which their political, religious, educational, industrial, and social organization was to be developed. Help pupils to see some of the important efforts made in America to develop constitutions. For instance, Connecticut wrote out her constitution before she was a dozen years old; each of the thirteen American colonies worked out constitutions for themselves in the course of the seventeenth and the first three quarters of the eighteenth centuries. Show pupils how groups of colonies, working in union, planned out or suggested constitutions for local groups: for example, the New England colonies, through most of the seventeenth century, learned some valuable lessons in their experiences in working together in the New England confederacy; Franklin's plan of union, suggested in the middle of the eighteenth century, kept the thought still alive and growing; the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 stimulated further thought concerning union and written constitutions, and finally the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States were the last steps in helping the Americans to express in a single written document the fundamental principles of their constitution.

2. **State power.** Work out with pupils the extent to which the states managed their own affairs during the years immediately following the close of the Revolutionary War; for example, raised their own armies, imposed tariffs and taxes, coined money, regulated commerce, kept ships of war, etc. (See provision in Articles of Confederation.)

3. **National power.** Work out the power of the general government during this time to raise an army, to levy and collect taxes, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states, to obtain bullion out of which to coin money, to make treaties, to judge when laws were broken and to enforce them. Compare and contrast the state of affairs seen under the Articles of Confederation with what was seen in the fifth grade under feudalism, and in the third and fourth grades in Greece and Rome. Why not have many kinds of money and many different measures and weights in a country? Why not have the general government apply to the states for money for its expenses? Did the general government during the Articles of Confederation have permanent courts? Did it have a president?

4. **Teutonic idea.** Study the Articles of Confederation in the light of the above and observe that these articles are the expression of the extreme idea of local self-government as applied to the states. Have pupils point out (1) those provisions in the Articles of Confederation which would tend to strengthen the power of the central government, and (2) those which would strengthen the local government. Have pupils see that since the Americans had just been carrying on a war with England (the central government) it was natural that the local governments should be very fearful of setting up a strong center to rule over them.

5. **Teutonic-Roman idea.** Study the Ordinance of 1787 and see that it provides for a central government, and also for the growth of local governments, — states, counties, townships, — but that these local governments shall become an organic part of the central government, sending representatives to Congress, helping to choose the President, and the like. How does this arrangement of origin and growth of new states differ from the arrangement worked out in Greece, Rome, and England?

Show the relation of the Ordinance to free schools, Art. 3, free labor, Art. 6, free government, Art. 2, free religion, Art. 1, and trial by jury and writ of Habeas Corpus, Art. 2. Study the Ordinance, and especially the parts providing for the equal division of estates between children, for the creation of new states and their admission to the Union, for establishing free schools, and for prohibiting slavery. Lead pupils to express simply and then to memorize the clause prohibiting slavery and that providing for free schools.

6. **The Constitution.** Study the Constitutional Convention of 1787, time and place of meeting, number of delegates, interest of the different sections, different industries represented, different ideas represented by such men as Hamilton and Madison; make clear the conflicting ideas of local and central power, each of which was struggling for mastery. Show how this conflict expressed itself in the formation of a United States Senate providing for the representation of each state equally, and a house of representatives representing each state according to population.

Follow the Constitution from the convention to its adoption in the states by state conventions. What significance has been given to the fact that the Constitution was adopted by *conventions in the states* and not by state legislatures? Tell pupils something of the struggles which took place in some of the state conventions for the adoption of the Constitution. Study carefully the adoption of the Constitution in a northern, a central, a southern, and in a large and a small state, as fairly illustrating the problems which would arise in getting the Constitution adopted.

Study the text of the Constitution itself as to the power given by it to the general government to lay and collect taxes, to make treaties, to raise troops, form a navy, to grant patents, to judge, to execute and carry out laws, to coin money, to prevent the states from doing so, to have

the same weights and measures throughout the country, etc. Contrast these powers of the central government under the Constitution with the powers claimed by the states under the Articles of Confederation.

When the pupil has completed the work of the seventh grade and looks back over the growth of the two fundamental principles (local government, the Teutonic principle which he began to study in the fifth grade, and central government, the Roman principle which he studied in the fourth grade), he should be able to see to a degree that the Constitution of the United States seeks to secure a harmonious balance between these two great principles — local government and central government. This duplex form of government, in which the parent exists for the child and the child exists for the parent, is America's contribution to the entire stream of human history; it is the life principle of the great Ordinance of 1787; it is the fundamental principle of the Constitution of the United States. As the student studies the growth of American nationality through the eighth grade, he will be able to see gradually that the nation grew, not by allowing the sway of one of these principles to the exclusion of the other, but by a continual growth and adjustment of the one to the other as the nation spread towards the West. The student will see also that, though Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jay, and others argued for and carried on the Revolutionary War against England (the central authority), upon the Teutonic principle of the right of local self-government and individual liberty, yet in the writing of the Constitution in 1787, and in the struggle for its adoption, they were broad-minded enough to see the imperishable worth of the Roman idea of a strong center.

Thus may the pupil be led to see, to a fair degree, that in a broad view Washington and his co-laborers were

struggling for more than the rights of the thirteen revolting colonies, or even for more than the entire Teutonic race had struggled for — individual liberty — these Revolutionary patriots did indeed embody the great principles already developed by the Teutonic world, but they added to this the equally imperishable principles of the Roman world — the love of law and order embodied in a strong central government. Study the biographies of Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, as advocates of the idea of strong, central government in the United States, and of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson as advocates of local government in the United States.

REFERENCES FOR THE SEVENTH GRADE

See General Note on Reference Books preceding first-grade references.

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CHANNING, EDWARD. *Student's History of the United States. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904. $1.40.

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FISKE, JOHN. Civil Government in the United States. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890. $1.00.

Especially helpful on local institutions.

FROTHINGHAM, R. Rise of the Republic. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1886. $3.50.

HART, A. B. (ed.). The American Nation. New York, Harper & Bros., 1904–1907. 27 vols. $2.00 per vol.

Of this series, the following will be found especially valuable to the seventh-grade teacher: *Farrand's Basis of American History; *Cheyney's European Background of American History; Bourne's Spain in America; Tyler's England in America; Andrew's Colonial Self-Government; Thwaites's France in America; Van Tyne's American Revolution.

HART, A. B. *Formation of the Union: 1750–1829. (Epochs of American History.) New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. $1.25.

KEMP, E. W. *History for Graded and District Schools. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1902. $1.00.

MCMASTER, J. B. School History of the United States. New York, American Book Company, 1897. $1.00.

Stepping Stones of American History, by fourteen writers (juv.). Boston, W. A. Wilde Co., 1904. $2.25.

WILSON, WOODROW. History of the American People. New York, Harper & Bros., 1903. 5 vols. $17.50.

One of the most readable, well-balanced histories of the United States — excellent for the use of both teacher and pupils.

Industrial History

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HART, A. B. (ed.). Source Book of American History (1492–1895). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899. 60 cents.

"The Source Book is meant to supplement, not to supplant, the text-book." (Introd.). Contains a variety of material, which the pupils themselves can use.

HART, A. B. (ed.). Source Readers in American History. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1902–1903. 4 vols. Vol. I, 40 cents; Vol. II, 50 cents; Vols. III, IV, 60 cents each.

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Old South Leaflets. Boston, Directors of the Old South Work, 1902–1907. 7 vols. $1.50 per vol.

Each leaflet is devoted to some historic document or writing, followed by a brief comment. 5 cents each; $3.00 per 100.

PRESTON, H. W. (ed.). * Documents illustrative of American History (1606–1863). New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1886. $1.50.

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SEMPLE, E. C. * American History and its Geographic Conditions. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. $3.00.

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Discovery — Conquest — Indians

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EARLE, ALICE M. Customs and Fashions in Old New England. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893. $1.25.

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GRIFFIS, W. E. *Brave Little Holland (juv.). Boston, Houghton. Mifflin & Co., 1894. 75 cents.

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BUTTERWORTH, HEZEKIAH. Patriot Schoolmaster (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1894. $1.50.

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DIX, BEULAH MARIE. Soldier Rigdale (juv.). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905. $1.50.

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THOMPSON, MAURICE. Alice of Old Vincennes. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1900. $1.50.

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OUTLINE OF THE EIGHTH-GRADE WORK

The aim of the eighth-grade work is to present in broad outline the development of the American nation in three periods:

I. The founding, both on sea and land, of American nationality, 1789–1830.

II. The testing of American nationality, 1830–1865.

III. The fruitage of American nationality, 1865–1909.

The Planting, Rooting, and Fruitage of American Nationality

I. THE FOUNDING, BOTH ON SEA AND LAND, OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY, 1789–1830

1. Growth of sea power. Review with pupils the commercial rise of the various nations of western Europe — Portugal, Spain, France, and England — as they became in turn the masters of the sea. Help them to recall that during the fourteenth and the first part of the fifteenth century Portugal, during the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century Spain, during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the two mighty powers, France and England, each in turn dreamed the dream of empire on the seas. Review briefly with pupils the rivers, harbors, bays, and ocean currents which gradually nursed the English peasant into the bold sailor, and, as centuries went on, made England the dominating lord of the universal sea. Help pupils to see that just as England struggled for and

obtained mastery on the sea, so France among all the European powers, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, obtained mastery on the land, and struggled for mastery on the sea. Briefly sketch, with map before pupils, the story of French history through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, telling them of the rise and rule of despotic power in France, of its apparent but not real overthrow the very year Washington became president (1789), and of the rapid rise to equally despotic power in France of Napoleon I. Briefly study the biography of Napoleon.

Thus picture to pupils these two strong powers of the western European world during the eighteenth century — France and England — standing jealous of and facing each other across the English Channel and struggling for the Atlantic Ocean, just as the two strong commercial powers of the ancient world — Carthage and Rome — had faced each other and fought for the Mediterranean Sea.

2. **Struggle for commercial supremacy.** Now, with map before them, help pupils to trace out and realize the mighty struggle which went on between France and England for about twenty years (1793–1815, except one year, 1802) over the Atlantic Ocean and the islands of the Caribbean Sea.

Would a twenty-year war, employing millions of men, require much ammunition and food ? Where might this food and these supplies be obtained ? Help pupils to work out means for providing with food and war implements two great nations perpetually in conflict with each other. Might the United States furnish much of the necessary supplies ? In doing so would the United States have a right to ship to these warring powers materials which could be used directly in carrying on the war ; for example, powder, cannon, guns, and balls ? Would one of these warring powers, for example England, have the right to say that the ports of its enemy (France) were closed up when the blockade

was not a real one, but merely one declared on paper? If a neutral trading ship, for example an American vessel, went with a cargo into such a paper-blockaded port, ought the nation who declared the blockade to have the right to seize such a ship and sell it? As the destructiveness of the war continued, would the number of sailors tend to become less or more? Might the hardships of the seaman's life and the meager pay lead to desertion? Would the difficulty of obtaining seamen become greater or less? Help pupils to consider whether it would be just for one of these warring nations, for example England, to seize from American ships sailors who had once been Englishmen but who had become citizens of the United States.

Thus help pupils to imagine the Atlantic Ocean for a period of twenty-two years (1793–1815) covered over with the ships of three great nations, two of them — France and England — warring with each other most of the time in ever fiercer strife, each trying to destroy the others' ships, cut off its food supplies, close up its ports or pretend that they were closed, so as to claim a right to seize the ships entering the port, and the third power — the United States — ever dodging in and out between the enemies, having hundreds of ships seized for selling provisions and goods to the warring powers, for pretended violations of the paper blockades, and for protecting seamen claimed to be deserters from English service. Lead pupils to see the United States at this time (1789, the formation of the Constitution, to 1807, the Embargo Act), enjoying through her commerce such a harvest of gain in selling the wheat and flour of Pennsylvania and New York; the leather, salt fish, and rum of New England; the tobacco of the South; the cocoa, sugar, and rum of the French West Indies; the pork of the Mississippi valley, that the whole Atlantic Ocean was covered with American ships and crafts of every kind, —

merchantmen, privateers, coasting crafts, pilot boats, fishing smacks, — and she was lifted to the position of one of the foremost agricultural countries and one of the most active commercial countries in the world.

3. **The Embargo Act of 1808.** With the picture of the seas swarming with the commercial life of the young American nation struggling against the old and warring European powers for its commercial rights, help pupils to judge what will be the results when President Jefferson in 1808 commands all the American ships to come into their home harbors and remain there in order to punish the warring powers — France and England — by taking from them their food supplies. What effect would such an order have upon American sailors, shipowners, shipbuilders, and the scores of thousands up and down the Atlantic seacoast engaged in occupations such as lumbering, flax growing, making sailcloth, and manufacturing pitch, tar, and turpentine? What would be the effect upon the grower of farm and plantation products when everything was ordered kept at home and nothing must be exported?

Sum up with pupils England's harsh and illegal treatment in impressing well-nigh ten thousand American seamen into English service, in seizing and selling American ships for violating English paper blockades, and in confiscating the cargoes of American trading vessels for pretended violations of the trade laws; and help them to see some of the chief causes of the young American nation, now hardly a quarter of a century old, entering into war with England, the greatest sea power in the world, and gaining as complete independence on the sea as in the Revolutionary War it had gained on the land.

4. **The War of 1812.** Help pupils to enter into the problems and results of the three years' war (1812–1815). Have them raise the troops, both state militia and regular army,

build the roads through the country over which to transport the troops, build a navy on lake and sea, borrow the money with which to carry on the war, issue the bonds, and hear the perpetual complaints of the New England shipping section, as it sees its trading ships held at home and only half-heartedly enters into a war whose special purpose it is to protect and vindicate the commercial rights of New England. As New England complains and shamefully lags behind in national spirit (1812–1815), help pupils to see the broader and more patriotic spirit of the central and southern statesmen, especially that of Calhoun at this time.

Help pupils to see some of the great crossroads of the sea around Newfoundland, in the English Channel, in the Mid-Pacific, in the Caribbean Sea, where the English Goliath and the American David meet and struggle, and where the latter triumphantly wins the sea. Help pupils to understand that the results of the War of 1812, though not mentioned in the treaty closing it (the Treaty of Ghent, 1815), were so complete and secure that America's freedom on the sea and her honorable place in the international life of the world from that day to this was more indelibly written in the blood of the brave American seamen and in the national consciousness of the American people than if it had been expressed in the treaty in black and white.

5. **Illustrative material.** As an expression of the difference in the national spirit between New England and the South at this period, and as a means of surrounding them somewhat with the political atmosphere of the time, help pupils to study and interpret the following quotations.

Timothy Pickering (Massachusetts), Washington, January 8, 1809, in reply to a letter from Christopher Gore concerning some form of concerted action on the part of New England to oppose the measure of the Republican administration:

Pray look into the Constitution, and particularly the tenth article of the amendments. How are the powers reserved by the states respectively, or to the people, to be maintained, *but by the respective states* judging for themselves and *putting their negative on the usurpations of the general government.* — Henry Adams, *New-England Federalism*, pp. 376–378.

Josiah Quincy (Massachusetts), House of Representatives, January 14, 1811, in a speech on the bill to enable the people of the territory of Orleans to form a constitution:

I am compelled to declare *it my deliberate opinion, that*, if this bill (concerning Louisiana becoming a state) *passes, the bonds of this Union are, virtually, dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation; amicably, if they can, violently if they must.* — Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III, p. 410.

Calhoun (South Carolina), House of Representatives, June 24, 1812, at the conclusion of a speech on the proposition to repeal the Non-Importation Act:

It is an alarming idea to be in a state of war, and not to rely on our courage or energy, but on a measure of peace. If the Non-Importation Act is our chief reliance, it will soon direct our council. Let us strike away this false hope; let us call out the resources of the country for its protection. England will soon find that seven millions of freemen, with every material of war in abundance, are not to be despised with impunity. I would be full of hope if I saw our sole reliance placed on the vigorous prosecution of the war. But if we are to paralyze it; if we are to trust, in the moment of danger, to the operation of a system of peace, I greatly fear. If such is to be our course, I see not that we have bettered our condition. We have had a peace like a war; in the name of Heaven let us not have the only thing that is worse — a war like a peace. — *Calhoun's Works*, Vol. II, p. 31.

Henry Clay (Kentucky), House of Representatives, January 8, 1813, in a speech on the new Army Bill:

An honorable peace is attainable only by an efficient war. My plan would be to call out the ample resources of the country, give

them a judicious direction, prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, strike wherever we can, reach the enemy at sea or on land, and negotiate the terms of a truce at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which disdaining to wait for danger meets it halfway. Haughty as she is, we once triumphed over her, and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail let us fail like men, lash ourselves to our gallant tars and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for *free trade* and *Seamen's Rights*. — Mallory, *Henry Clay*, p. 314.

Calhoun, House of Representatives, October 25, 1814, in an appeal to the Opposition in a speech on a resolution to increase the direct tax:

It is the war of Revolution revived; we are again struggling for our liberty and independence. The enemy stands ready, and eagerly watches to seize any opportunity which our feebleness or division may present, to realize his gigantic scheme of conquest. In this struggle for existence I must entreat the members of the opposition — though they can reconcile it to their consciences to stand with folded arms and coldly look on — not to impede, by idle and frivolous debate, the efforts of those who are ready, by every sacrifice, to maintain the independence of the country. — *Calhoun's Works*, Vol. II, p. 110.

From the report of the Hartford Convention of 1814:

If the Union be destined to dissolution by reason of multiplied abuses of bad administrations, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent. Some new form of confederacy should be substituted among those states which shall intend to maintain a federal relation to each other. Events may prove that the causes of our calamities are deep and permanent. They may be found to proceed not merely from the blindness of prejudice, pride of opinion, violence of party spirit, or the confusion of the times; but they may be traced to implacable combinations of individuals or of states to monopolize power and office and to trample without remorse upon the rights and interests of commercial sections of the Union. Whenever it shall appear that these causes are radical and permanent, a separation, by equitable arrangement, will be preferable to an alliance by constraint, among nominal friends, but real enemies influenced by

mutual hatred and jealousy and inviting by intestine divisions contempt and aggression from abroad. But a severance of the Union by one or more states, against the will of the rest, and especially in time of war, can be justified only by absolute necessity. . . .

That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with respect and forbearance due from a confederate state towards the general government, to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution. The mode and energy of the opposition should always conform to the nature of the violation, the intention of the authors, the extent of the injury inflicted, the determination manifested to persist in it, and the danger of delay. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infraction of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a state, and liberties of the people, it is not only the right but the duty of such a state to interpose its authority for their protection in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of the judicial tribunals or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions. — Oliver J. Thatcher, *Ideas that have Influenced Civilization*, Vol. VIII, pp. 137–138.

Calhoun, House of Representatives, April 6, 1816, at the conclusion of a tariff speech:

Again, it [the tariff] is calculated to bind together more closely our widely spread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will as a necessary consequence excite an increased attention to internal improvements, a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. . . . Liberty and the union of this country are inseparably united. As the destruction of the latter will most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will with equal certainty preserve it. — *Calhoun's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 172, 173.

Calhoun, House of Representatives, February 4, 1817, in a speech in favor of internal improvements:

Those who understand the human heart best know how powerfully distance tends to break the sympathies of our nature. Nothing — not even dissimilarity of language — tends more to estrange man from

man. Let us, then, bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space. It is thus the most distant parts of the republic will be brought within a few days' travel of the center; it is thus that a citizen of the West will read the news of Boston still moist from the press. The mail and the press are the nerves of the body politic. By them the slightest impression made on the most remote parts is communicated to the whole system, and the more perfect the means of transportation the more rapid and true the vibration. To aid us in this great work — to maintain the integrity of this republic, we inhabit a country presenting the most admirable advantages. — *Calhoun's Works*, Vol. II, p. 90.

Calhoun, House of Representatives, February 4, 1817, in a speech on the interpretation of the Constitution, internal improvements, and union:

I am no advocate for refined arguments on the Constitution. The instrument was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with plain good sense.

. . . We are great and rapidly — I was about to say fearfully — growing. This is our pride and danger; our weakness and our strength. Little does he deserve to be intrusted with the liberties of this people, who does not raise his mind to their truths. We are under the most imperious obligation to counteract every tendency to disunion. The strongest of all cements is, undoubtedly, the wisdom, justice, and above all the moderation of this House. Yet the great subject on which we are now deliberating in this respect deserves the most serious consideration. Whatever impedes the intercourse of the extremes with this, the center of the republic, weakens the union. The more enlarged the sphere of commercial circulation — the more extended that of social intercourse — the more strongly we are bound together — the more inseparable are our destinies. — *Calhoun's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 186–196.

Henry Clay, House of Representatives, January 16, 1824, in a speech on the nature of the United States government, and its relation to the states:

By the existing Constitution, the powers of the general government act directly on the persons and things within its scope without the intervention or impediments incident to an intermediary. In executing the great trust which the Constitution of the United States creates,

we must, therefore, reject that interpretation of its provisions which would make the general government dependent upon those of the states for the execution of any of its powers, and may safely conclude that the only genuine construction would be that which shall enable this government to execute the great purposes of its institution, without the coöperation, and, if indispensably necessary, even against the will of any particular state. This is the characteristic difference between the two systems of government, of which we should never lose sight. Interpreted in the one way we shall relapse into the feebleness and debility of the old confederacy. In the other we shall escape from its evils, and fulfill the great purposes which the enlightened framers of the existing Constitution intended to effectuate. — Oliver J. Thatcher, *Ideas that have Influenced Civilization*, Vol. VIII, p. 152.

6. **Foundation of national strength.** Help pupils to see some of the problems which would enter into the founding of the central government of the American people in 1789. Review with them some of the difficulties seen during the time of the Articles of Confederation, and recall to mind that one of the fundamental difficulties of the central government was that it was heavily in debt and had almost no resources from which to draw. Help them to see that for this reason one of the most important problems which the national government would immediately have to deal with would be the means of getting money. Have them work out what the American nation would need money for: to pay the debts to foreigners; to pay the debts to those whom it owed at home; to meet the daily expense of keeping up the government, — such as the army and the navy, salaries of the President, the Cabinet, the postmasters, judges, members of Congress, and the like. Help pupils to form some fair estimate of what the average yearly expenses of the national government would be, say in the first decade of our national history; then help them to devise means for raising money to meet these expenses.

Recall to pupils' minds the picture already presented of the commerce on the ocean in the way of dry fish, lumber,

rum, wheat, corn, flour, oats, barley, pork, cattle, hides, cotton, indigo, and rice, which the American merchants were shipping to European peoples, and for which they were bringing home, in exchange from the nations of the earth, spices, wines, coffee, sugar, silks, shawls, cloths, rum, and slaves, — just as in olden times commerce had moved back and forth from Asia into Europe.

Now help pupils to devise means for the national government to raise money out of this commerce through tariff taxes collected from those who carried on this trade. Could traders who shipped goods out of the country, as wheat, corn, tobacco, and the like, be compelled by the general government to pay a tax on these exports? (See United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9, clause 5.) Could the national government collect a tax from goods shipped into the country from all foreign countries? (See United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 1.)

When pupils have been led to see that by the Constitution an import duty may be gathered from all goods and an export duty from none, then help them to see a stream of tariff tax and internal revenue flowing into the national treasury, gathered day by day both at seaport and throughout the interior of the country where whisky and other liquors were made, and in turn being paid out for maintaining the army, the navy, the civil officers, and for keeping up the interest on the national bonds or paying them off, and the like. Give pupils the correct meaning of import or tariff tax, and excise or internal revenue tax, and have them memorize Article I, Section 8, clause 1, United States Constitution, and help them also to give examples of national taxation from actual life as seen around them.

7. **The United States bank.** When pupils have seen the sources from which the national government is drawing money and the many channels into which it is pouring it

from day to day, month to month, and year to year, help them to devise means or an agent for doing this work. Recall to them the experience of the national government under the Articles of Confederation when it had no independent resources for getting money except through the states; when it had no strong financial agent or money power ready to help it when it wanted to borrow money; and when it had no safe places in which to keep the money which it did have. Help them to see that if the national government could establish safe places all over the country — in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and other cities — where the internal revenue and the tariff taxes could be paid in, and from which, from month to month, they could be paid out in salaries and the like, it would be a very convenient and proper way for the general government to carry forward its large business life.

Now help pupils in imagination to enter into the halls of Congress in 1791, when the national government, two years old, established a United States bank with a capital of ten million dollars. Make graphic to children the springing up of national banks all over the country, with many persons—men, women, and children—buying stock in them; others depositing their own money in them for safe keeping, and drawing interest upon it; others borrowing money from it from time to time. See also the United States itself becoming a stockholder and depositing day by day the internal revenue and the tariff taxes, and paying out of it its officers and other obligations, — interest, bonds, and the like, — as they become due from time to time. Help pupils to judge whether this bank, with all its stockholders and depositors, coming from every class of the people and enjoying much profit both as stockholders and as depositors, would gradually nourish in the minds of the American people a feeling of high regard for the national government. Thus

they should see that the first United States bank, chartered for twenty years and therefore extending down to within a year of the outbreak of the War of 1812, was one of the greatest financial instruments which helped America to work out her problems on the sea, during the trying times when she was harassed between the shark and the tiger, — England and France, — and on the land, as she was planting her life more firmly on the Atlantic seacoast and was moving westward over the Great Lakes, with her numerous problems, down the currents of the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland, toward the Mississippi valley.

8. **Congress at work.** Now help the children to return in imagination to Congress and see it yet more fully as a mighty instrument which is to work out the problem of individual freedom for the American people as they move ever westward, just as the English Parliament, as we have already seen, was a great instrument which fought the battle of liberty for the English people, from Magna Charta down to the present time. Help pupils to picture in detail the two branches of the legislature — the Senate and the House of Representatives — say in 1790. How many would be in the Senate? (See United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 3, clause 1.) How many in the House of Representatives? (See United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 2, clause 3.) How would committees be appointed for doing the work, and how would bills be passed through both houses and on to the President?

Help children to take up some of the great questions which were considered by Congress during the first twenty-five years of its life, say from its organization (1789) down to the close of the War of 1812 (1815). As it dealt with the problems, both of sea and land, would Congress have to pass bills for raising tariff and internal revenue to defray the expenses of keeping up the navy, fighting the Algerian

pirates, paying American ministers abroad, and hiring private ships to guard the interests of American traders on the sea? Recall again to pupils the great struggle in progress on the seas, the ill-treatment of American sailors by the warring powers, and the coming of foreigners to the United States. Help them to consider the problem of what laws ought to be passed by Congress allowing foreigners to come into America, live here, become full citizens, and in every way take a hand in the government. Help students to form an opinion as to how long a foreigner should be required to live in this country before being allowed to become a full citizen. What punishment should an alien, living in this country, be given, if he criticised unfavorably the work of Congress, or of the President, or of the government in general? What punishment ought any alien to receive if for any reason he was considered dangerous to the government of this country?

Now take up with students the study of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and help them to say whether they think them well suited to work out free speech, free press, and a just and fair trial by jury. Compare the treatment which could have been given under the Alien Law (1798) with the most arbitrary treatment under King John or under a despotic Cæsar. In connection with the Sedition Law have them memorize United States Constitution, Amendments, Art. I, and in connection with the Alien Law, taking away the right of a trial by jury, have them memorize Amendments, Articles V and VI.

9. **The President at work.** Review with pupils some of the most important things Congress did during its first ten years of work, say from 1789 to 1798, and have them see something of the duties of the President in helping Congress to carry on the affairs of the government. Would there be postmasters, foreign ministers, army officers, navy

officers, tax collectors, judges of the court, and the like, to be appointed, and treaties to be made with foreign countries? Help pupils to picture the President as the one central officer whose business it is to see that the laws made by Congress are carried out through foreign ministers, consuls, army, navy, tax collectors, road builders, land surveyors, and the like. In connection with the duties and power of the President study with pupils the United States Constitution, Art. II, Sec. 2, clauses 1, 2, 3.

10. **The growth of local government.** Briefly review with pupils the fact that throughout the seventeenth, and all through the eighteenth century, up to the time of the formation of the Constitution (1789), there was a constant growth, in townships, counties, colonies, and states, in the desire of the people to rule themselves in their own home localities. Thus each state had learned to tax itself, keep up a state militia, build local roads, provide for public education, make paper money, and had established a system of state banks. Now help them to see that as the local government — the state, divided into townships and counties — grew stronger and stronger, there naturally arose a difference of opinion on the part of the people as to how much power, in the development of American liberty, should be exercised by the local government and how much by the central government. Thus make clear to them that the two channels in which the political life of the American people began to flow in the early years of the national government, and has continued to flow in ever deeper and deeper grooves, are the power of the national government and the power of the state government, — each one ever seeking the liberty of the people, each one claiming to be their especial protector, but in working out this liberty each party oftentimes failing to practice when in power what it advocated when not in power.

11. **The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.** Review briefly with students the Alien and Sedition Laws, and after helping them to see the strong and arbitrary power which the President and Congress could have exercised under them, study the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as examples of the power of the local government — the state — seeking through the state legislature to say to the general government that whenever it should become too severe a parent, the child — the state — should have a right to call the parent — the general government — to account, and if the parent still persist in the injustice the child should have a right to disobey the parent and remain in the household, or, if it chose, leave the home altogether. Talk over with pupils in a simple way the two different interpretations of the Constitution and help them to select clauses from it upon which great differences of opinion have arisen; as, for example, on the amount and purpose of national taxation (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, clauses 1 and 18), on the building of national roads (Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 7), on the regulation of commerce by the national government (Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 3), and the like.

When the fundamental ideas — strong central government and strong local government — upon which the two great political parties were based, have been grasped by the pupils give them the names of the parties, — Federalists and Anti-Federalists; a little later, Federalists and Democrat-Republicans; and in recent times, Republicans and Democrats, — and have them see that the strong central government party (the Federalists) nursed and mightily strengthened the life of the central government for the first twelve years of its existence (1789–1801) through tariff, internal taxes, army, navy, national bank, cheap public lands, and the like; but that notwithstanding these great services to the nation, when the strong central government

party so far forgot itself as to trample on the rights of the local government and violate free speech, free press, trial by jury, and the writ of Habeas Corpus, — which, as we have seen, were already a thousand years rooted in the life of the Anglo-Saxon race, — the central government party was dismissed by the American people, and the local government party, led by Thomas Jefferson, came in 1801 triumphantly into power.

12. **The local government party.** Study the biography of Thomas Jefferson and help pupils to see the efforts made by him and his party, when he became President in 1801, to narrow the field of the general government by raising and spending as little money as possible for ships, army, navy, government officers, and the like, and by paying off the national debt as fast as the custom duties flowing in from the tariff and other taxes furnished him with sufficient means.

13. **The Louisiana Purchase.** With maps before them briefly review with pupils the history of the French colonial power as it grew in America through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, until it was overthrown at the end of the French and Indian War (1763). Recall to pupils the biography of Napoleon and help them to see his vast plan of reëstablishing in America the empire which France had lost in 1763. Recall to pupils the military and feudal institutions which France had always stood for at home and had scattered during her colonial American life from Canada to New Orleans and from the crest of the Appalachian Mountains to the western plains of the Mississippi.

Help pupils to imagine to a degree what would have been the result if this great despotic power had been able to carry out in the Mississippi valley, the richest and most promising valley on the surface of the earth, its designs of

an imperial empire. Picture to them two mighty nations, France and the United States, in case Napoleon's plan had succeeded, standing facing each other in military array on the banks of the Mississippi throughout the nineteenth century, France ever struggling to build a nation upon the Roman principle of despotic power, and the United States ever thirsting for more land, seeking to bear onward across the Mississippi to the Pacific the great Teutonic principle of the right of every man to rule himself. Thus, help them to realize the meaning and importance of Jefferson's act when he purchased for the American people the rivers, plains, forests, and mines, reaching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and giving a free opportunity for the broad stream of Anglo-Saxon liberty to move forward uninterruptedly on its westward course.

With Louisiana purchased (1803), have pupils spend in imagination two years (1804–1806) with Lewis and Clark, passing from the Mississippi up the Missouri, across the Rocky Mountains, down the Columbia, until they look out upon the calm Pacific. Help them to enter into the problems and difficulties of the expedition, — the obtaining of food, horses, wagons, boats, guides; the opposition of Indians; the mountain slides; the grizzly bears; the rattlesnakes, flies, and mosquitoes, — all of which they would encounter. Help them to gain some conception of the extent and value of this purchase, — the grandeur of the mountains with their mineral possibilities, the vastness of the plains, the breadth of the prairies, the majestic rivers, the immense forests, and the exhaustless soil, which had recently come into the possession of the United States; and have them judge whether the Louisiana Purchase, seen in its length and breadth, would tend to cultivate in the American mind a large conception of American nationality and of its future possibilities.

Help pupils also to see that Thomas Jefferson, although the founder of the local government party and opposed to the general government assuming and exercising powers which were not plainly given to it in so many words in the Constitution, has in the purchase of Louisiana done an act which broadened and deepened the national life and national prospects as perhaps no other national act had done since the formation of the Constitution itself. Read with pupils the entire Constitution and help them to find out for themselves whether there is any statement, saying in so many words, that the United States government has a right to purchase land. When pupils have seen that there is no such clause in the Constitution, help them to justify Jefferson's act as he justified it and to argue as to whether it was best for him to do what he did.

After pupils have seen the picture of the immense territory of Louisiana, help them to think of some of the most important problems which will arise for the United States government, such as getting the money to pay for it (fifteen million dollars), surveying it, building roads to it, protecting it by military power, and finally joining it politically to the American republic by first cutting it into territories, then nourishing these speedily into full strength, and finally admitting them into the sisterhood of the Union on perfect equality with the older states.

14. **New England's complaint.** Now, with the picture of this broader view of western expansion, and the free and open Mississippi with its unrestrained commerce, help children to understand the complaints which New England made because the great national act of the Louisiana Purchase would tend to drain away the laborers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other New England states, make wages higher because of the scarcity of labor, and thus tend to lessen the valuable shipping business which, as we have

seen, New England, because of national protection, had been enjoying since the beginning of the mighty struggle between France and England (1793).

15. **The mastery of the Gulf of Mexico.** When pupils have thus seen the French power with its great dream under Napoleon forever at an end in America, and the Mississippi River from source to mouth in the possession of the Teutonic race because of the Louisiana Purchase, with map before them lead them to see that the coming in of Louisiana opened the way for a second contest, — the struggle between the United States and despotic Spain. Review briefly with them how Spain, coming to America, had first settled on the West Indies; then, reaching farther at the beginning of the sixteenth century (1512), had set foot on the Florida peninsula; and how from that time very slowly, for the next three hundred years (1512–1819), she had extended a long arm from the easternmost point of the peninsula until it reached westward and well-nigh grasped the mouth of the Mississippi River, thus not only controlling the borderland surrounding most of the Gulf of Mexico but the interior life which sprang up upon the upper courses of the southward-flowing rivers, — such as the Pearl, Tombigbee, Apalachicola, and others, upon which grew vast quantities of cotton and tobacco, — and which sought a free and open channel to the Gulf.

Thus help pupils to picture, say from about 1803 to 1819, the rapid growth of an American life extending from the southeastern Atlantic coast gradually westward through the cotton fields of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, rapidly filling the fields with swarms of laborers under the mighty influence of the cotton gin (invented 1793). Also help them to feel the restraint and irritation which this same southern life felt as it expanded southward, coming in contact with, and being harassed by, nests of Gulf pirates, smugglers,

runaway slaves, plundering Indian tribes, and lawless seamen of every kind, which had gathered upon the coast for centuries and had made Florida a haven for the lawless of both land and sea, until finally, from about 1803 to 1819, the national government, again under the leadership of one of the intensest advocates of local government, — Andrew Jackson, — led the American army until it had conquered the Indian Seminole, swept every political fragment of the despotic Spanish rule from the Florida coast, and obtained a treaty in 1819 limiting the field of Spain in the Northwest and out to the Pacific to the forty-second degree of north latitude, thus making the Teutonic race not only complete master of most of the Gulf regions but also obtaining Spain's claim to her lands in the Northwest as far south as latitude forty-two degrees.

16. **The struggle between the Roman and Teutonic principle in America.** Briefly review with pupils the three great eastern currents of European national life — France, England, and Spain — which started on the western coast of Europe with Columbus, Cabot, and Cartier, say about 1500, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, came westward to America, and planted their colonies on the eastern American shore; likewise help them to see a fourth, a western current, — Russia, — moving eastward through Siberia, across the Bering Strait, to northwestern North America.

(1) Review briefly the settlements, colonies, and institutions of France in America, based as they were upon the idea of the divine right of rule, ever seeking, as we have seen, through war and conquest, to plant this idea in the richest river system in the world — the St. Lawrence-Mississippi — and ultimately claim for it the American continent.

Help pupils to see again the growth of France in America, and after a century and a half (1608–1763) her fall at

Quebec; then her brief dream of colonial empire, and her final overthrow under the great Napoleon (1800–1803). Help them to realize that with the fall of France in America in 1803 there came to an end one of the currents of despotic life which had been seeking for centuries to colonize and rule the New World.

(2) Review with pupils the stream of thought borne westward from England to America from the beginning of the sixteenth to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Help them to see that this English life, although deeply rooted in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon freedom, so far temporarily forgot itself when dealing with its American colonies as to become an advocate of the divine right of rule, and sought to practice it with her American children. Help them to see in the last part of the eighteenth century (1783), at the close of the American Revolutionary War, the triumphant overthrow of this English effort at despotic rule, when the arbitrary parent — England — was pushed from the fairest portion of the New World, thus giving opportunity for the birth and growth of the freest and sturdiest Teutonic offspring, — the United States of America. Let them see this newborn nation arise on the Atlantic coast, make its way through the Appalachians, root itself deeply in the free life of the Mississippi valley, and spread its hand of protection over the entire western hemisphere.

(3) Now, with map before them, help pupils to see, in the last part of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a third colonizing power, as despotic as ever existed in the most tyrannical days of Rome, thrust forth its cold and unsympathetic arm from the ice fields of northeastern Russia, across the Bering Strait, seeking to grasp for her colonial empire the northwest portion of the American continent as a field in which to set up her divine right of rule.

(4) Now let pupils return to the beginning of American colonial rule under Spain and follow briefly her expanding but despotic life as it spread from its home country westward and southwestward, until it occupied both island and continent, and throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries became the absolute master of all South America (with the exception of Brazil), Central America, Mexico, and most of the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Show pupils on the map the vast geographical possibilities of this immense region; point out to them the tropical islands with their fruits, sugar, indigo, rum, and coffee; the continent of South America with its immense plains, rich soil, majestic streams, precious minerals, lofty mountains, and exhaustless forests. Along with these great natural advantages out of which to build a free and independent national life, let them feel the restraint and oppression which the Spanish colonists throughout all South America, after three hundred years of despotic rule by the parent country, felt, and have them see with the Spanish colonists the example of the young North American republic, now rapidly conquering a continent by means of the principle of self-government, and, in the thrill of this, feel the courage and patriotic efforts which such men as Bolivar, St. Martin, and others put forth in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when, in the name of individual liberty, they established, from Cape Horn to the Gulf of Mexico, South American republics,—Chile, the Argentine Republic, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, and others.

17. **The Monroe Doctrine.** Now, with the efforts of France and England to plant the divine right of kings on American soil already ended, with the despotic life of Russia creeping out of Asia and down the northwestern coast of North America, and with the vast continent of South America breaking up into independent states, withdrawing from

Europe, and calling aloud for sympathy from the young republic of the United States, help pupils to see and appreciate the meaning of the declaration made by the American people in the Monroe Doctrine, — that the United States government would not interfere with or disturb any colony of any European country at that time already planted in America (for example, Canada), but that from that moment forth the entire western hemisphere, from Cape Horn in the south to the uttermost regions of the north, should have no further extension in its soil of *the principle of the divine right of rule,* but should be dedicated forever to *the principle of the rule of the people.*

Thus help pupils to see that by the time the young republic of North America was half a century old, it had gained such independence of life and such a lofty view of its mission in the world, that, standing as it did at the center of a great hemisphere, it was able to grasp its truly divine opportunity and proclaim as from a watchtower that man has the right to rule himself; that the principle of the divine right of kings, which had struggled for over three hundred years to plant itself in American soil, was now forever at an end; that the European states might, if they would, rule according to this despotic principle of Rome, but that America should henceforth stand for the Teutonic principle of the divine right of the people to rule themselves.

Thus seeing, help pupils to appreciate, to a degree, what the great statesmen of that time, such as Monroe, Clay, and Adams meant, as they called, with Lowell, to the young and stalwart American people to

> Be strong-backed, brown-handed, upright as your pines;
> By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs.

II. THE TESTING OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY, 1830–1865

1. **The early westward movement.** Help pupils to review briefly the work outlined for the first seven grades, and to see that the leading movement of humanity has been one ever reaching toward the West; that the most progressive peoples of mankind, led by great ideas, have built up great national lives; that these national lives have decayed and fallen, but that the ideas have become permanent possessions of the human race. Thus help them to see in the Nile valley and in the valley of the Tigro-Euphrates the early struggles for property and the early gropings of the human soul for immortality; in the land of the Hebrews the search of a thousand years and more for religious truth, and the beginning of the great idea that one God rules the world; in the land of the Greeks the search of well-nigh a thousand years for beauty; in the land of the Romans the search of twelve hundred years for political power, law, and order; and in the land of the Teutons the search of fifteen hundred years for personal liberty, which spread over Europe and deeply planted its roots in the Anglo-Saxon soil of England.

2. **The crossing of the Atlantic.** Now help pupils to follow this stream of liberty, ever moving westward, ever seeking to break away from the trammels of the past, ever striving to surround itself with the freer opportunities of the future, — leaving the shores of the old home, starting across the Atlantic, finding its way to the New World, planting the seed of Anglo-Saxon freedom on the western Atlantic coast, and, in the light of all the experience of the past, beginning the task of conquering the last virgin continent—America—and establishing on it the fairest home for human liberty.

3. **Westward from the Atlantic coast.** Briefly review again with pupils the leading facts of the westward movement from the Atlantic seacoast, as it pushed through wilderness,

along river, and over mountain, until it stood, at the last quarter of the eighteenth century, at the crest of the Appalachians, looking into a valley — the Mississippi — as fair as the Egyptian regarded the Nile valley or the Hebrew the Jordan. Now help them to see the chief geographic features of the Mississippi valley, — chiefest of all a noble river, reaching from north to south through the temperate zone for thirty-six hundred miles, abundantly supplied on either side with tributaries, the sum of which furnished these westward bound, land-hungry American men with eighteen thousand miles of navigable water ways; a soil so rich by nature as to be, if reasonably cared for, absolutely inexhaustible; a climate stimulating but not severe, and, except in the southernmost part, well fitted for the labor of the white race; a rainfall abundant and so distributed as to give nourishment for a great variety of different species of plants; an animal life as various and abundant as the plant life; gigantic forests, both hard and soft woods, if properly cared for, without limit; immense stores of minerals, — iron, coal, copper, lead, and to some degree gold and silver, — all by moderate labor ready for the use of man.

4. **The West in the Mississippi valley.** When pupils have been led to see the immense extent of the Mississippi valley and have been led to appreciate to some degree the vast material riches lying untouched throughout its length and breadth, help them to return in imagination to the western slopes of the Appalachian Mountains, and (with the national government already established, as we have seen, throughout the length of the eastern slopes of the Atlantic coast) see wave after wave of pioneer life, — men, women, and children of many classes and conditions continually departing from the outer fringe of civilization and moving westward (say in the last part of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century) into this great valley, with ax in hand

and liberty at heart, to wage a self-reliant battle with the forest, determined to hew from it a home, a school, a church, a farm, and a government, and to give to every one a chance to lift his life to the highest level of which he is capable. Help pupils to understand that the supreme political question for the American people, as they pour into this vast valley through the nineteenth century, is, whether they can build therein one great national life and yet give due respect and nourishment to the local life, — the life of the state.

5. **Problems of expansion in the West.** Now help pupils to imagine the warp of American life ever growing longer and longer, crossing the Mississippi and moving westward toward the Rocky Mountains and southward toward the Gulf, and help them to think out some of the great problems which would arise in weaving the woof of human life back and forth from east to west and from west to east, so as to bind this ever-expanding life of territories, states, counties, and townships into one great sympathetic national people. Thus help them to see that Indian treaties must be made, the lands surveyed, rivers bridged and dredged, roads hewn through the forests, canals dug, schools and churches established, and the entire valley laced to the Atlantic seacoast by means of railroads.

6. **Agencies of western improvement.** Help pupils to see to some degree the immense cost necessary for making these improvements, and let them discuss whether the national government, the state governments, or private companies organized under the states, should undertake to make them. Give them examples of all three of these agencies — individual corporations, states, and the national government — entering into the work of improving the interior of the country, and show them the interlinking life of these agencies working together and tending to foster one great national spirit. As an example of a work conceived and carried out

by the national government, study the establishment, construction, repairs, and administration of the National Road, as it slowly grew for thirty-eight years (1806–1844) from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois, having thirty-four specific acts passed by Congress for its benefit and costing altogether about seven million dollars; have students see the social, political, and industrial influence which such a road would have, not only upon the daily life of the people along its immediate course but also upon the nation as a whole, binding, as it did, the conservative East with the freer and more democratic West, and giving a constant channel through which the self-reliant and adventurous frontier ever kept on its way toward the setting sun. As an example of a great public improvement of national importance conceived and carried out by a state, study the Erie Canal as the state of New York rapidly pushed it to completion through eight years (1817–1825), from Albany to Buffalo, three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, four feet in depth, and forty feet in width, with eighty-one locks, costing in all about seven million dollars, and serving to join the mouth of the Hudson River with the Great Lakes, and (through the second quarter of the nineteenth century) the life of the Great Lakes with the upper waters of the Mississippi. As an example of a private corporation carrying forward a work of great public benefit, talk over with students the origin, growth, and influence of some of the canals or railroads which were built in their own state in early times, and help them to point out their effects in uniting the people politically, socially, and industrially, and in cheapening travel, increasing both its comfort and speed.

7. **Constitutional basis of internal improvements.** Now help pupils to see that in this vast work of opening up and improving the interior of the country and joining it with the rivers, harbors, and bays of the seacoast, just as in the case

of the establishment of the United States Bank, and as in the case of other enterprises, great statesmen had different opinions as to whether it was best to place the greater power of doing this work in the hands of the national government, or in the hands of the states, and through the states in the hands of local organizations and private corporations. Have them point out provisions in the Constitution which have been quoted in support of the expenditure of national funds for building harbors and lighthouses, dredging rivers, building turnpike roads, aiding in the building of railroads, assisting in world's fairs, and digging the Panama Canal. (See United States Constitution, parts of Preamble, Art. I, Sec. 8, part of clause 1, part of clause 3, clauses 7 and 18.)

8. **The growth of manufactures.** Briefly review with students the growth of industry in the American colonies throughout the seventeenth and the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. Recall to mind that in this century and three quarters the colonies slowly, but therefore all the more surely, sank the roots of their institutions into the American soil, thus becoming in the main agricultural; recall also the favorable harbors, bays, and river mouths which gradually nursed the English colonies (notwithstanding the opposition of the mother country, — England) into a little seafaring people in the New England and middle colonies, and gave a basis (when political independence was won from England, and the mighty struggles began, as we have seen, between France and England in the French revolutionary days) for the American nation to bound forth upon the seas and win with remarkable speed an independent place in the world of commerce. Recall to students the effect of the Embargo Act (1807) and the War of 1812 in checking American commerce for several years by shutting it off from foreign countries and turning American capital for the time away from foreign fields to the vast new fields

opening up at home. Thus help them to see the American people begin the work of laying hold of the raw products of field, mine, stream, and forest; shutting out foreign nations (except they enter by a high tariff) and manufacturing themselves the wool, the hemp, the iron, the copper, the pitch, the tar, the turpentine, the wheat, the corn, until they are able, first, to supply the needs of their own country, and finally, through the remarkable inventive genius and self-reliant industry of the people, come to enter and rule the markets of the world.

9. **The tariff.** Now lead students to think out the causes of the rise of these manufacturing establishments and the reason why they seek protection from the national government against like establishments of foreign countries, the labor in which would be cheaper, — both the raising of the raw material and the work of the hands and superintendents in the factory. Help them to discuss whether the American government should exact a protective tariff from shippers wishing to bring into this country goods made abroad. Would such a wall, built up as it were around the borders of the nation, protect classes of people in America who are not engaged in manufacturing, — for example, the agriculturist of the South, whose cotton fields were rapidly expanding to the West and who, selling annually many million dollars' worth of cotton abroad, brought back home manufactured products for the plantation and desired to pay upon them as little tariff as possible? Thus help them to consider whether a protective tariff imposed upon goods brought in would be for the general welfare of all the people, — as the Constitution of the United States implies all taxes must be, — or if, in the main, a protective tariff would be for the welfare of the special class engaged in manufacturing. Help them further to see that the question of laying tariff for protecting home industries,

like the question of the national government making public improvements at national expense, or that of the national government establishing and superintending a national bank system, has had both advocates and opponents, — those supporting a strong central government holding that the national government has a right, in the interest of the general welfare, to levy a protective tariff, and those wishing the central government to gather and spend little money and to interfere as little as possible with the lives and occupations of the people, holding that such a tax is contrary to the Constitution, and that, if levied by the national government, the states, or any particular state, believing it to be unnecessary and improper, has a right to nullify it, — that is, refuse to pay it.

10. **Argument for and against nullification.** Lead students to give examples of important occasions, since the beginning of the government under the Constitution (1789), which have led to a discussion of the nature of the national government, — its birth, growth, and authority, and whether a state could, if it chose, refuse to obey a national law, — such occasions, for example, as the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions (1798–1799), Massachusetts' threats of disunion (1803 and 1812–1815), and South Carolina's attempt at nullification (1832). Recall to them that in the first forty years of the national history of America every section of the Union — North, South, Center, and West — at some time specifically declared, and oftentimes implied, that when the nation was formed it was formed by the union of the individual states, and that each state might decide for itself whether it would remain in the Union or not; and that Calhoun by 1832 taught that a state had the right to disobey any national law, if it chose to do so, and still remain in the Union. Help them to select in the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States, expressions on both sides

(the nation and the state) of this greatest of all American political questions, and, with the historic atmosphere of the time about them, enter in imagination into the senate chamber of the United States in 1830, and, with forty-eight senators, three hundred and thirteen representatives, members of the Supreme Court, and spectators crowding the halls and galleries to overflowing, listen to the eloquent discussion between two great statesmen — Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts — on the nature of the Constitution and the right of a state to nullify a law made by the national government, — Hayne representing the past, Webster representing the dawning view of the future, both alike earnestly seeking to serve their country, and jealously guard its freedom.

11. **Illustrative material.** Help pupils to study and interpret the following quotations, and read with them the great Webster-Hayne debate.

Hayne, Senate, January 21 and 25, 1830:

Thus it will be seen, Mr. President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the Republican doctrine of '98, — that it was promulgated by the fathers of the faith, — that it was maintained by Virginia and Kentucky in the worst of times, — that it constituted the very pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned, — that it embraces the very principles, the triumph of which, at that time, saved the Constitution at its last gasp, and which New England statesmen were not unwilling to adopt when they believed themselves to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation. Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal Government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its power, it seems to me to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court is invested with this power. If the Federal Government in all, or any, of its departments, is to prescribe the limits of its own authority, and the States are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves when the barriers of the Constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a government without

limitation of powers." The States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved, — a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest, — a principle which, substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the Constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the Federal Government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the Federal Government were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The South is acting on a principle she has always held sacred, — resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, sir, are the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune? No! but the payment of half of twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Sir, if acting on these high motives — if animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the Southern character we would be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there, with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, who would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "You must pardon something to the spirit of liberty"? — Johnston-Woodburn, *American Orations*, Vol. I, pp. 244–247.

Webster, Senate, January 26, 1830:

Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains, is a notion founded on a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this government, and the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people, those who administer it responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than

with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State government. . . . I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depths of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union: on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds or drenched it may be in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward"; but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, — Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable! — Johnston, *American Orations*, I, 263–4, 281–2.

12. **Ancient and mediæval slavery.** Help students to understand to some degree what slavery is, and recall to their minds a general outline of its history as it has been traced through the grades. Help them to see that slavery is one of the great threads along which the world of business or labor has developed, and that it arises because one person compels

another to give him the fruits of his labor without reward, except what he eats, drinks, and wears. Remind them that in the ancient world, in a country like Egypt and Babylonia, only one man — the king — was thought to be entitled to entire freedom and complete possession of his property, and that all others might be compelled to give the fruits of their labor to him. Recall to mind also that in Greece perhaps not more than one man out of every ten was a freeman, and that all others were slaves (mostly white slaves) and received no compensation for their work save food, clothing, and shelter, while the freemen enjoyed the fruits of their toil. Show that even the greatest thinker of Greece — Aristotle — taught that the system for one man to serve another as his slave was entirely right and proper, and ought to exist throughout the world of industry. Recall further that Rome, though built at first mostly by plain and independent freemen, and becoming the mightiest power of the ancient world, decayed and fell, largely because her citizens became unwilling to work and spread slavery (mostly white slaves) throughout her vast empire. Lastly, remind the students that all through the Middle Ages (say from 300 to 1500 A.D.) slavery in one form or another spread throughout western Europe, notwithstanding the intense love the Teuton as a race had for individual liberty.

13. **Beginning of modern slavery.** With the brief history of slavery throughout the ancient world, and down to the days of Columbus, in mind, help pupils to see that with the invention of the compass, the spreading of commerce on the Atlantic Ocean, and the discovery of the New World, a new impulse was given to slavery; that there was opened up a vast new field into which slavery could spread; and that the buying and selling of slaves became a very profitable business for both European nations and the American colonies to engage in. Show them that black slaves gradually took the place

that had been occupied in the ancient and mediæval world by white slaves, and that the African continent became the great source of the slave supply. Follow with them the growth of the slave trade as through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it spread from the West India Islands in every direction through the tropical regions of the western hemisphere, where soil and climate were favorable and white labor scarce and high, and help them to follow its development from the Spanish colonies on into the English colonies from 1607 to 1776. Show them how, in this period of nearly three centuries, negro slaves were captured on the coast of Africa, brought to the West India Islands and the American colonies, and exchanged for molasses, sugar, rum, tobacco, and other products.

14. **Slave trade.** Give pupils a general picture of the hunting, capturing, and enticing of the negroes upon ships, and their transportation across the ocean. Picture a slave ship, several decks high, about three feet ten inches "between decks"; men and women lying with feet outward, chained to the deck, the space given to each person five feet long and sixteen inches wide, — in which condition they sometimes remained for eight months and more, while being collected on the African coast and brought across the ocean. Have the pupils judge something of the effect that shipping these slaves through the heat of the tropics, closely packed and chained together as they were, would have upon the death rate and therefore upon the price of slaves in the American colonies. Have them see further that in this slave trade not one nation, or one section of the American colonies, but several nations, and all sections of the colonies (North, Center, and South) were engaged, — Holland, Spain, England, France, New England, New York, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. All alike, in the capacities in which they could derive most profit, were equally

responsible for the presence of slavery in America, — some engaged in bringing in foreign slaves, others engaged in selling them throughout the states and territories; some, as time went on, engaged in raising slaves for the market; while the number of owners and overseers grew ever larger and larger.

15. **Early abolition sentiment.** Recall to pupils the spirit of freedom which animated the American colonists at the period of the Declaration of Independence and help them, in the light of that spirit of freedom, to interpret the complaint which the original draft of the Declaration of Independence made against the English king for thrusting slavery upon them (see Appendix, p. 301). Show them the disfavor with which the leading American statesmen — Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, and others — regarded slavery at the time when the American colonies became free of England and began to work out their great constitutional documents, such as the Articles of Confederation, the Ordinance of 1787, and the Constitution of the United States.

16. **National and state control of slavery.** Point out to pupils that the Articles of Confederation say nothing directly on the subject of slavery; that the Ordinance of 1787 (Art. 6) spread freedom forever over the territory northwest of the Ohio and extending to the Mississippi; and that the Constitution of the United States places certain powers over slavery in the hands of the national government and leaves certain other powers in the hands of the state governments. The national government, for example, may count, besides all free men, three fifths of the slaves as one factor in determining how many persons shall go to the national House of Representatives from each state (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 2, clause 3); the national government may, after 1808, stop everybody from shipping slaves into the United States (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9, clause 1); the national government may have its own

home, — the District of Columbia, — slave or free, as soon as it moves into it in 1800 (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 17); the national government must, through its officers, catch runaway slaves escaping into a free state and return them into bondage (United States Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 2, clause 3). The state governments, on the other hand, or any individual, may bring in slaves to the United States from foreign countries from 1789 to 1808, that is for about twenty years after the formation of the Constitution (United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9, clause 1); the people living in states where slavery is allowed may buy and sell slaves from one state to another just as they choose. Any state might free its slaves if it desired to do so, or hold them as long as it wished; the punishment of slaves living in states, their marriage, divorce, and arbitrary separation were under the control of the state governments.

17. **Slavery in public territory.** Help pupils to see that when the American nation was a mere fringe of thirteen states lying on the Atlantic coast, and when there was but little settlement in the public lands of the West, the question as to the amount of power over slavery which could be exercised by the states on one hand, and by the nation on the other, gave almost no trouble, and it was generally felt at that time that slavery would gradually disappear from the United States. Now help them to see that with the spreading of the national territory toward the West by the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the treaty with Spain (1819) giving Florida and the claims of Spain in the Northwest into the hands of the national government, the treaties with Russia and England ceding northwestern claims to the United States, and finally the treaties with Texas and Mexico increasing by vast blocks of territory the possessions of the American nation in the Southwest and extending to the

Pacific Ocean, the question arose and became intense as to whether the national government or the local governments, i.e. territories developing into states, should determine whether slavery should be permitted to spread over this new territory.

18. **America's great instrument of liberty.** Now recall to pupils that one of the greatest instruments for working out the problem of human freedom in American history has been the American Congress, just as the English Parliament has been the instrument through which England has worked out her great steps in freedom. Lead them to recall how Congress is made up, — that each state has two senators, and is therefore equal in power in the United States Senate; and that in the House of Representatives each state has power according to its population, counting from 1789 to 1863 all white people and three fifths of the slaves. Now show them that the original thirteen states were almost equally balanced on the slave question in the Senate, there being six states — Maryland and all others south — whose institutions, chiefly on account of a warm climate, tended more and more toward slavery; while in seven states — Pennsylvania and all others to the north — slavery, by reason of a colder climate and, as we have seen, growing opportunity for commerce and manufacture, was gradually disappearing. Follow now with them the growth of the population as it gradually moves westward, expanding into new territories and states, ever increasing the number of both senators and representatives, thereby making Congress a more powerful body in shaping the institutions of the country, and help them to see the growing struggle on the subject of slavery as it developed in the United States Congress.

19. **The balance of power between slavery and freedom.** Help pupils to trace on the map the Mason and Dixon line and the Ohio River as the dividing line from the Atlantic Ocean

to the Mississippi between slave and free states, and note the order of admission of new states, as the balance of power between slave and free interests was carefully maintained in the United States Senate. Already familiar with the original thirteen states, seven free and six slave, follow the coming in of new states to the Union : Vermont, 1791, free ; Kentucky, 1792, slave; Tennessee, 1796, slave; Ohio, 1802, free; Louisiana, 1812, slave; Indiana, 1816, free; Mississippi, 1817, slave; Illinois, 1818, free; Alabama, 1819, slave, — making in all, by 1819, eleven free and eleven slave states.

20. **Missouri Compromise.** Now, with this vast field of cheap lands and unorganized territory west of the Mississippi River spread before the view of the pupils, and with two streams of civilization — one free and the other growing stronger and stronger slave — wishing to cross over and enter these lands, help them to see that the great problem for the United States Congress to settle is, whether this vast western territory, which the stream of civilization has just reached, shall be given over to the institutions of freedom or to the institutions of slavery, or shall be divided between the two. Help the pupils in imagination to enter into Congress at this time (1820), see the size both of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and imagine the different interests represented, — the agricultural interests of the planters, as their tobacco, rice, sugar, and cotton plantations, cultivated by ignorant labor, spread over the South, exhaust the soil, and continually seek new fields in the West; and the agricultural, shipping, and manufacturing interests of the North, stimulating free labor and making it a region not of one line of industry but of many. With these two streams of civilization, both struggling for the West, pictured to the minds of pupils, together with the great leaders of each section, equally sincere in

their view of the desirability of carrying slavery into the new territory or keeping it out, help them to enter into the spirit of the debate in both houses of the national legislature in 1820, and see the result of the discussion, — Missouri, in 1820, allowed to come in as a slave state on condition that Maine be permitted to come in as a free state, the balance of power between slave and free states in the Senate being thereby still kept up. Help the pupils further to see the dividing in this same compromise of all the remaining lands of the Louisiana Purchase between the slave and free interests, and have them trace out on map the extent of land received by each section, and observe that the slave interest of the South received but a comparatively small triangle of land, extending from 36½ degrees north latitude southward to Louisiana and westward to the boundary line of 1819, while the free interest of the North received a vast territory, stretching from 36½ degrees north latitude to the Rocky Mountains in the West and to the forty-ninth parallel in the North.

21. **Expansion of slavery in the Southwest.** With this first great battle over slavery—the Missouri Compromise—already fought in 1820, and the western lands to the Rocky Mountains divided by the national government between the two great powers, slave and free, help pupils to follow the mighty wave of industry as it moved westward from the Mississippi toward the Rocky Mountains, the struggle for land and political control ever growing intenser between the slave and the free states. Help them to see the expansion of the cotton fields in the South and Southwest, say from 1820 to 1850, under the powerful influence of the cotton gin; to note the growing demand for slaves and their rapid increase, the rise in the price of slaves, their importation (even though prohibited in 1807) from Africa and the West Indies, the slave-breeding farms in the border states, the

slave markets in the South and especially that in the national capital (Washington, D.C.), the exportation of cotton to foreign countries, — until the property invested in slaves was more than a billion dollars by 1860, and the Southern planter became the cotton king of the world.

22. **Change in slave sentiment.** With this rapid development of the cotton industry in mind, help pupils to see how the institution of slavery, instead of growing weaker and dying out, as had been hoped and expected by such men as Washington and Jefferson, became ever stronger, and that the South came to regard slavery not as an evil institution to be tolerated, but, as Aristotle had said in olden times, as a natural and proper institution in the world of labor, and one to be fostered and developed, not only for the sake of the freeman but likewise for the sake of the slave.

23. **Northern forces of civilization.** Now help students, just as they saw that the mighty influence of the cotton gin (beginning in 1793) directed the institutions of the South into agriculture, to see that the power of steam (beginning on the Western waters in 1811) quickened the life and shaped the institutions of the North into steam hammers, steamships, engines, railroads, thrashing machines, and thousands of mills propelled by steam. Thus show them that the expanding life of the North was not only developing in agriculture (as was almost entirely the case in the South) but likewise in shipping and manufacturing, and instead of growing up in isolated localities, as on the Southern plantations, the Northern life was being woven on one vast loom into a great national consciousness of free institutions, springing up into cities, villages, townships, counties, territories, states, — all expanding through the sentiment of Union and all furnishing the opportunity for each man to enter freely into the new West and to become a vital factor in developing its industries, religion, social order, education, and laws.

24. **Humanitarian growth.** As a next step, have pupils see that wealth is not only increasing in numerous lines in the North, but rapidly spreading into the hands of all classes of people; that wealth produces leisure; leisure, books; books, schools; schools, libraries, literature, art, and a general desire for culture, — and that out of this grows a broader and more sympathetic feeling between all classes of mankind, expressing itself in prison reform, hospitals, the struggle for the right of petition for slaves, the rise of abolition societies, and in general in a broader sympathy for the unfortunate and downtrodden of whatever color or class.

25. **The growth of sectionalism.** Thus have pupils see the ever-broadening gulf between the two currents of civilization struggling to shape the institutions of the American nation: one — the South — frankly and openly avowing that labor should be performed by the many and that the fruits of labor should be enjoyed by the few; the other — the North — believing in the dignity and nobility of labor, whether of brain or hand, and advocating that the fruits of labor justly belong to all engaged in producing it. And with these two diverse streams of civilization in the minds of pupils, help them still to follow the struggle for power that went on in Congress from the time of the Missouri Compromise (1820) down to the more passionate struggle and the more difficult compromise of 1850, the "Omnibus Bill."

26. **Sectional questions.** Help students now to see in this thirty years' period of American history (1820–1850) some of the great questions which arose pertaining to slavery: the rapid movement of civilization toward the West under the impulse of foreign immigration and the easy travel made possible by the railroads; the acquisition of new territories both North and South, such as Texas in 1845, Oregon in 1846, California in 1848; the right of petition for slaves, fought for and won by John Quincy Adams in the United

States Congress (1844); the returning by national government officers of fugitive slaves, escaping into a free state, to their masters; the existence of both slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and the immediate question of determining whether the lands, newly acquired from Mexico and now struggling for admission into the Union, should be admitted as free or as slave states.

27. **Growing gloom and doubt.** Help students to surround themselves with the atmosphere of the time by having them see the American nation, extended now (1850) to the Pacific coast, stirred with passion and doubt as never before on the question of whether the United States was in reality one nation with one national life and purpose, or two nations; and whether the national government could continue to adjust its difficulties on the question of slavery by compromise, as it had done from the day of its birth down to the present time, or must divide into two nations, the one slave and the other free.

28. **Illustrative material.** With this feeling of public concern and passion of the American people on the question of slavery in the minds of the pupils, and noting the fact that the great leaders such as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun were, as old men, still in Congress seeking to settle forever all of the questions on slavery which had been accumulating for two generations, help them to study the provisions of the Compromise Bill (1850), and likewise to interpret the following quotations:

Governor Crittenden (Kentucky), Message to Legislature:

Dear as Kentucky is to us, she is not our whole country: The Union, the whole Union, is our country; and proud as we justly are of the name of Kentuckian, we have a loftier and more far-famed title, that of American citizen.

Kentucky will stand by and abide by the Union to the last, and she will hope that the same kind Providence that enabled our fathers to

make it will enable us to preserve it. — *National Intelligencer*, Washington, January 10, 1850.

Governor Floyd (Virginia), Message to Legislature:

The terms of deep and bitter reproach which the fanatics of the North heap upon the South . . . are not to be reconciled with a simple desire to exclude slavery from the territories, which is their avowed object. . . . They have either resolved to dissolve the Union, or, believing that the South has not the spirit to resist, have determined to invade the sanctuary of our homes and liberate our slaves. — *Alexandria Gazette*, Virginia, December 5, 1849.

Governor Seabrook (South Carolina), Message to Legislature:

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to assure you that South Carolina must, hereafter, exist *as a military people.* The history of our country for the last ten years affords abundant proof that, as long as the Union endures, there is to be no peace for the slaveholder. An eternal warfare against his rights of person and property, under the associated influence of the people and the states of the North, and the central power, has been solemnly and deliberately decreed. For this reason it is essential that the community of which he is a member should be prepared, at any moment, for every emergency. — *National Intelligencer*, Washington, December 7, 1849.

The following quotations are extracts collected from the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, from speeches of senators and representatives on the question of *Union* and *Disunion.*

Robert Toombs (Georgia), House of Representatives, December 13, 1849:

I do not then hesitate to avow before this house and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, and to abolish slavery in this district, thereby attempting to fix a national degradation upon half the states of this confederacy, I am for disunion; and if my physical courage be equal to the maintenance of my conviction of right and duty, I will devote all I am and all I have on earth to its consummation.

The territories are the common property of the people of the United States, purchased by their common blood and treasure. You are their common agents; it is your duty, while they are in a territorial state, to remove all impediments to their free enjoyment by all sections and people of the Union, the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. — *Cong. Globe*, Part I, p. 28.

Chauncy F. Cleveland (Connecticut), House of Representatives, December 13, 1849:

The sin of disunion is one that will not be forgotten or forgiven. These gentlemen seem to suppose that the North would be the only sufferer by a dissolution of the Union. These gentlemen are mistaken. The states proposing secession bear the same relation to the Union that a limb does to the body. Amputation would disfigure and injure the body, *but the limb would perish.* — *Cong. Globe*, Part I, p. 29.

Edward D. Baker (Illinois), House of Representatives, December 13, 1849:

Sir, in the name of the men of the North so rudely attacked, and speaking what I know to be their sentiment, I say, a dissolution of the Union is, must be, shall be, impossible, so long as an American heart beats in an American bosom, or the Almighty sends His wisdom and His goodness to guide and to bless us. — *Cong. Globe*, Part I, p. 29.

H. W. Hilliard (Alabama), House of Representatives, December 12, 1849:

I say to him [Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts] and to this whole house, that the Union of these states is in a great peril. It has been precipitated into this condition by an utter oblivion, on the part of gentlemen representing the non-slaveholding states, of the feeling and purpose of the people of the southern portion of this confederacy in regard to the threatened encroachment on their rights. I have never known throughout the entire southern country so settled and deep a feeling upon the subject to which I have referred — the attempt to exclude slavery from the territories of the United States — as now exists there, and I solemnly declare — speaking from a thorough acquaintance with that people, a people among whom I was born and have been brought up — that if this legislation is to be persisted in, *this Union cannot stand.* — *Cong. Globe*, Appendix, Part I, p. 33.

Jeremiah Clemens (Alabama), Senate, January 10, 1850:

The value of this slave property in the Southern states exceeds $900,000,000. No people ever existed, or ever will exist, who would consent to the destruction of this vast wealth without a long and desperate struggle.

Suppose we had no motive to resist abolition agitation save the powerful one of protecting our property; would you, if the picture were reversed, hesitate one moment about the adoption of the most extreme measures? — *Cong. Globe*, Appendix, Part I, p. 52.

. . . . . .

Jeremiah Clemens (Alabama), Senate, January 10, 1850:

I have no threats to make, they are out of time and place; but I tell you, more in sorrow than in anger, not only that you must pause, but you must retrace your steps. The guarantees of the Constitution must be respected, and its promises held sacred, or the most weak and timid man in the state I in part represent, would scorn your alliance and shatter your Confederacy. Indeed, I do not know but what it is now too late, and that this Union, over which you have preached so much, and about which so many eloquent sentences have been framed, is already at an end. — *Cong. Globe*, Appendix, Part I, p. 54.

Edward Stanley (North Carolina), House of Representatives, March 6, 1850.

Invoking the protection of the great Jehovah for our whole country, I say, this Union cannot be, shall not be, destroyed. Those whom God hath joined together, no man, or set of men, can put asunder. *Cong. Globe*, Appendix, Part I, p. 345.

The following quotations are extracts from editorials taken from Southern newspapers by the *National Intelligencer,* Washington, February 9 to February 16, 1850.

A continuance of the Union as it is will ruin us politically and pecuniarily, and corrupt us morally! . . . In the event of secession the South, profiting by the experience of the past, with a common interest binding them together with hooks of steel, with free trade with all the world, and her peculiar institutions undisturbed, may unite in a Southern Confederacy without convulsion, and pursue her manifest destiny, her onward march to greatness and glory, the admiration if not the envy of the world. — *South Carolina Telescope.*

Will quiet submission, humble remonstrance, or empty menace, vindicate her honor, defend her rights, or restore harmony to a distracted and crumbling Union? No! The experience of twenty years answers, No! Continued indulgence is cowardice, and yet to forbear is treachery to the South, our home, our country, and our freedom. Let us not reluctantly choose between the alternatives presented of union, infamy and ruin, on the one hand, or *disunion* on the other. Give us the latter; the sooner the better. — *The Spartan*, Spartanburg, South Carolina.

It is the manifest interest of the South to dissolve the Union. She is now suffering and has suffered, more injuries from the North than the colonies suffered from Great Britain, and a second declaration would rehearse more oppressions than Mr. Jefferson's. What is a tax on tea and stamps compared with the enormous burdens now levied on the agriculture and commerce of the South? — *Wilmington Aurora*, North Carolina.

Should the question be put to-morrow for dissolution, we firmly believe that, from the granite hills of New England to the cane fields of Louisiana, from the storm-beaten coasts of the Carolinas to the shores of the calm Pacific, there would go up to Heaven one universal shout of No, that would hush forever all murmur of opposition. — *New Orleans Picayune*, Louisiana.

Members of the present Congress dare to proclaim that they will dissolve the Union! Not one of them has a right to speak of the dissolution of the Union. Not one of them can pledge the South or the North, the East or the West, to any such thing. They have no such function. The South adores the Union. She has proved faithful time and again. — *Louisiana Gazette.*

Whatever may be said and done in other states, Kentucky will stand by the Union. — *Mount Sterling Whig*, Kentucky.

We consider any man who advocates a dissolution of the Union as much a traitor to the country as was Benedict Arnold — and we care not whether his location be north or south of Mason and Dixon's line. — *Baltimore Clipper*, Maryland.

We are bound to the South by the strongest ties, — birth and education; but we love the Union too well to harbor for a moment a thought of its destruction. — *Brandon Republican*, Mississippi.

It would be an outrage upon the rights of the people of California for our national legislature to attempt the exclusion of her as a state because her citizens choose to exclude the institution (slavery). — *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, Georgia.

Let others rage as they will, or calculate the value of the Union as they may, Maryland as one of the old thirteen states will cling to the Union to the last. It may be that faction will succeed in overthrowing the Union, but our state will have no hand in the unholy work. — *Baltimore Clipper*, Maryland.

29. **National control of slavery.** Briefly review with pupils the history of national slave control since the formation of the Constitution, and help them to see that one of the greatest questions running through the entire course of American history up to the Civil War was whether the national government or the local governments should have the right to control slavery in the public territory. Recall to their minds that in the Ordinance of 1787 the national government had complete control over slavery in the public domain and excluded it from the Northwest Territory; recall also that a generation afterwards the national government in the Missouri Compromise legislation (1820) carried out the same policy by excluding slavery from the northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase and allowing it in the southern; and further help pupils to see that in the legislation of 1850 (the "Omnibus Bill") the national government, under the influence of the interests of the South, began to change its policy by organizing two territories, Utah and New Mexico, out of a part of the great body of land received at the close of the Mexican War, and giving the people moving into these territories the right to decide for themselves, when they entered the Union as states, whether they would establish in them slave institutions or free.

30. **"Omnibus" legislation and geographic conditions.** Study with pupils the geographic conditions, — the climate, soil,

rainfall, mountains, rivers, valleys, minerals, — and lead them to judge whether the territories of Utah and New Mexico would rapidly develop into states and become agricultural and slaveholding like the South, or whether they would develop mining and manufacturing industries and become free states like the North. Lead them further to judge whether the balance of power between slave and free institutions so long maintained in the Senate, as we have seen, could still be kept up, or whether one power would finally overbalance the other and become complete master throughout the nation.

31. **Kansas-Nebraska Bill.** Recall to pupils, from map, that the northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase, Kansas and Nebraska, was still, in 1850, public territory, which, by the Missouri Compromise legislation of 1820, was forever to remain free. Now since Utah and New Mexico had just been allowed by the legislation of 1850, the "Omnibus Bill," to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery, let them debate the question whether the legislation of 1820 (the Missouri Compromise), keeping slavery out of the northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase, should be overturned, and the people now rapidly moving into the territory of Kansas and Nebraska be given the same privilege just extended to Utah and New Mexico, of deciding for themselves whether or not they would have slavery; and help them to realize what the results might be when by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, passed through Congress in 1854, all of the remaining territory of the Louisiana Purchase was opened to slavery if the people moving in chose to have it. Lead the students to enter into the spirit of the times which this legislation brought about, by a study of the larger features of the Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858.

32. **Dred Scott Decision.** Thus, with all the national public territory opened to slavery if the people of the particular

localities settling therein desired it, and with the slave interests dominant in the national legislature, help pupils to understand a further step towards slavery when the Supreme Court, the highest authority in the nation, in 1859, by the Dred Scott Decision, opened to slavery, temporarily at least, not alone all the *public* territory of the United States but the *entire* territory of the nation.

Briefly describe the national court system (see United States Constitution, Art. III), and as an example of the influence which the decisions of the Supreme Court may have upon the daily life and institutions of the people, study the Dred Scott case and lead students to judge what was the effect of this decision in increasing throughout the entire nation the already very intense feeling on the slavery question.

33. **Fugitive slave law.** Study with pupils the provision of the Constitution of the United States, Article IV, Section 1, clause 3, and also review the fugitive slave provisions of the "Omnibus Bill," — both guaranteeing that when a slave ran away from his master into a free state, the national officers in the state would catch the fugitive and return him into bondage; and have them discuss impartially whether this promise made by the fathers of the Constitution, such as Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams, should still be faithfully carried out by their sons, such as Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Lee, and Douglas. Help them to see the great difficulty of justly settling this problem, — the South standing still or holding to the past, the North moving rapidly forward and pointing to the future; the South standing by the states, the North standing by the nation; the South demanding with firmness that it was the nation's duty to enforce the provision according to the original promise made two generations before and return the fugitive slave, the North with an ever-expanding feeling of

sympathy for all classes of humanity calling aloud to the nation with Lowell,

> New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward, who will keep abreast of Truth;
> Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
> Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
> Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.

34. **The crisis.** Help pupils to feel the opposing currents of these two mighty streams of civilization, slave and free, each confident of the justness of its cause, each determined to mold the nation to its view, each equally sincere, speaking in a thousand tongues, — unrequited toil, poem, petition, law, literature, Congress, town meeting, local assemblies, pulpit, press, and platform, — the most powerful tongue of all that of the voiceless slave; and thus have the pupils see the American nation, standing at the end of a long road of seventy years, having attempted to build a national life by means of compromise, arrive at the beginning of the third generation of its existence, to find that compromise on so great a principle as human freedom is impossible, and that America must be a nation either "all slave or all free."

35. **Illustrative material.** Help students to see again the effort made by the Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott Decision, to settle the question of the rights and legal standing of the slave by deciding that, notwithstanding the equality of all men as set forth by the Declaration of Independence, and notwithstanding three fifths of the negroes had been counted ever since the Constitution was formed in making up the number of representatives in Congress, the slave was a creature that had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and lead them, with this in mind, to picture the agitation caused by this great question of human liberty,

rising like a mighty storm ready to burst upon the nation. Then help them to interpret the following quotations:

Lincoln, speech before the Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858:

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation not only has not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. — Johnston-Woodburn, *American Orations*, Vol. III, pp. 168–169.

William H. Seward, speech at Rochester, New York, October 25, 1858:

Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested and fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become the marts of legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men. — Johnston-Woodburn, *American Orations*, Vol. III, pp. 201–202.

President Buchanan, passages from the Annual Message of December, 1860:

How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions their own way. As sovereign States, they and they alone are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil.

. . . . . .

The question fairly stated is: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has withdrawn, from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to any other department of the federal government.

. . . . . .

The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force. — Hart's *American History, told by Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 196–198.

President Lincoln, passages from the first Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861:

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

. . . . . .

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . . I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

. . . . . .

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it." — *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VI, pp. 5–12.

Jefferson Davis, passages from his Farewell Address to the Senate, January 21, 1861:

It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think that she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act.

. . . . . .

Then, Senators, we recur to the compact which binds us together; we recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded, and when you deny them, and when you deny to us the right to withdraw from a Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread in the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence, and take the hazard. This is done not in hostility to others, not to injure any section of the country, not even for our own pecuniary benefit; but from the high and solemn motive of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and which it is our sacred duty to transmit unshorn to our children. — Johnston-Woodburn, *American Orations*, Vol. III, pp. 320–329.

The withdrawal of the senators of the seceding states:

On the twenty-first of January, 1861, the most impressive and painful scene in the annals of the United States of America was witnessed

in the Senate Chamber. The rumor had gone abroad that the senators of several of the states which had seceded were about to withdraw from the Senate. The chamber was filled with members and with those who had the privilege of the floor, and the galleries were crowded with spectators. Every state was present except South Carolina; her senators had not come to the capitol, but had sent in their resignation in writing before the session began, and, when the time came, the chairs of these senators were empty. The first state to turn its back upon the Union was Florida, one which had been among the latest to be welcomed with open arms by the sisterhood of states; it was also one of the weakest. . . . Alabama followed Florida, and Mississippi Alabama. The story of their griefs was told by these states in subdued and measured tones; the time for threat and defiance had gone by; the very parting itself had come, and the pain which wrung northerner and southerner alike was betrayed by twitching lips and by deep silence.

Every eye and every ear was intent upon Jefferson Davis when he rose. He was not in good health, but to this alone could be attributed any faltering or agitation. There was none; this was the crowning hour of his existence, and he approached the culmination of his life work with calmness and dignity. All his life long he had maintained the right of a state to withdraw from the Union, and this as an attribute of sovereignty coequal with the right under which she had entered into the Union. He was no nullifier; nullification implied union, and he was no unionist. To nullify was to parry, to palliate; it was to confess a right, yet to avoid its obligations. Nullification and secession were incompatible principles. Davis neither parried, nor compromised, nor sulked; he believed that the states were sovereign and unaccountable, and where there had been aggression he would not acknowledge superior power, but he was for meeting aggression on the threshold by denying the superiority; therefore, to Union he opposed dis-Union; to aggression, resistance. . . . No one had the right to question or sit in judgment upon a sovereign, and unqualified obedience was the sole duty of the children of a state. This doctrine he had taught his people in season and out of season, and the hour had now come when he was reaping what he had sown. His eyes were beholding the success long striven for; the states were going out; he was seeing them take their departure; he was hearing them say good-by; and, above all, he was beholding the deep emotion of those who were left behind. His tone was not exultant, neither did his voice falter; his manner was gentle, firm, determined. . . .

The departures from the House of Representatives were mostly signified by written missives, but there departure did not convey the intense and deeply moving force that it did in the Senate. For in the House it was Representatives merely who were turning their backs upon their fellows, but in the Senate it was sovereign states that were deserting the common hearth. The *states* were going out. All that ever had been feared, or derided as improbable, or defied as impossible, or talked against, written against, prayed against, — all this had actually come to pass, and in the visible physical forms of the departing senators the states were leaving, never to return. Impenetrable gloom, foreboding, and thick darkness settled upon the Senate Chamber, and the soul was troubled: each man searched his heart to find if it were he who had dishonored his fathers, and had shortened the days of the land which the Lord his God had given him. The onlookers thought of Webster and his prayer, that his dying eyes, as they sought the sun, might not behold it shining upon a torn and rent land, and they cursed the hour in which they themselves were witnessing the dissolution of the Union. Woe worth the day! — Eben Greenough Scott, *Reconstruction during the Civil War*, pp. 1–5.

36. **Geographical influences on the Civil War.** With two generations (from Washington down to Lincoln) of noble effort to build a Union on the principle of compromise, at an end, and with the nation divided into two great sections, help pupils now to see this manly and courageous people seize the last instrument left for settling their difficulties, — the instrument of war. Review briefly the geographical surroundings of the American people, and help pupils to judge whether the territory of the United States is fitted by natural conditions, like ancient Egypt or the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean, to develop into one great nation, or like modern Europe into several independent nations, such as Germany, France, Spain, and England. Lead them to see the uniting power of the vast Mississippi as it extends its nourishing body, like Father Nile of olden times, through its entire valley from north to south, reaching out its arms on either side to grasp hands through the mountain passes with both the Atlantic and the Pacific, and thus

help them to realize that the American people from ocean to ocean and from gulf to lake are fitted as are the people of no other continent to be bound into one united political body, and that any effort to divide them into two separate nations would be a constant fight against nature instead of a harmonious working with her.

37. **Theaters of war.** With these general geographical conditions grasped by pupils, help them to work out more in detail the importance of possessing and controlling the great inland channels of commerce, such as the Mississippi, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the passes through the mountains leading from these rivers eastward into the regions close to the capitals of the two contending powers, Washington and Richmond. Help them to realize that these great river courses and mountain passes would be the natural roadways over which to transport troops, food, and implements of war, and would therefore be the regions most contended for by the opposing parties.

38. **Determining factors in warfare.** Help students now to enter into the four years' war (1861–1865), and study with impartiality the motives, struggles, successes, failures, and final results of this mightiest war of modern time. Recall to them great struggles of the past which they have studied through the grades, — such as the struggles between the Persians and the Greeks, between Hannibal and the Romans, between Charles I and the English Parliament, between George III and the American colonies, — and lead them to say what they think are the ruling factors in great wars which determine, in the long run, which side shall win. Help them to see some of the chief forces and underlying motives which worked in the Civil War, and have them point out, as well as they can, some of the chief factors which gradually determined which one of the contending sides should gain the victory. Show them that in this war,

as in all great wars, the cause for which one fights is the greatest factor, and after this the money, men, and arms which each side can call to its assistance are not much less important factors in determining the final victor.

39. **Nationalizing and denationalizing influences.** Briefly recall to pupils the chief causes of discussion and contention between the North and South as we have seen them gradually develop in the two generations of the past from Washington down; recall that it was a discussion on the nature of the Union; that in the first generation of American national life every section of the country had at times contended or implied that the Nation was composed of states, and that a state, if dissatisfied with what the central government was doing, could secede from the Union; recall further that in the second generation many nationalizing influences bore the Northern life rapidly forward toward a strong feeling for the Union, but left the South, mainly for reasons of a warmer climate and slave labor, believing, as firmly and sincerely as it did two generations before, that the Constitution was made by the states, and that a state had the right to secede from the Union if it chose.

40. **Causes for war.** Thus help pupils to understand the opening cause for war, — the attempted secession of the states from the Union, — and have them see that in respect to the rightfulness and wrongfulness of secession, the one section was as sincere in its belief and as confident in the righteousness of its cause as was the other; have them also understand a further cause, although not openly avowed at the beginning of the struggle but nevertheless the most fundamental of all, and one as we have seen reaching back through the centuries, — the presence of slavery in the South. Recall to them that in the first generations of American colonial life slavery had been as widespread as the colonies, but had, as time went on, for climatic reasons mainly,

narrowed down its life to the southern portions of the nation, where it was still (1860) as sincerely and firmly believed in as it had come to be condemned by the North. With these two great causes for the war, secession and slavery, in mind, lead students to see the effort at first, by means of war, to preserve the Union with slavery in it (1861–1863), and, after the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863), the effort to defend and preserve the Union with slavery banished from all states or parts of states attempting to withdraw.

41. **Financial resources of the North.** Now help students to provide in imagination means for warfare — money, men, and arms — for the armies both North and South as from year to year they contend with each other in ever fiercer battle. Follow the strong arm of the North as it reaches out and draws a mighty stream of tariff tax from every port on the Atlantic; lays an internal revenue tax throughout the entire North which pours a stream of money into the public treasury from every manufacturer of liquor; taxes private citizens on all incomes of over eight hundred dollars a year; obtains out of all of these resources gold and silver bullion from the exhaustless mines of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific slopes, coins these into gold and silver coin, issues paper notes ("greenbacks"), issues bonds, sells them throughout the world, and reëstablishes the United States Bank which had been such a financial tower of strength in the days of Hamilton and in the trying financial times after the War of 1812. Thus help the pupils to see the money resources of the North materializing in every direction and growing larger and larger as the war proceeds and the expenditures grow greater.

42. **Financial resources of the South.** Now study with pupils the resources of the South for carrying on the war. Lead them to see that instead of the North's rapidly filling reservoir of wealth flowing from ship, factory, field, and

mine, the South had but a single resource, — agriculture. Help them also to understand that instead of streams of revenue, as tariff tax, pouring in from the Atlantic Ocean into the Southern ports from year to year, as was the case with the North, the Southern ports were blockaded and cut off from all commerce with the outer world by Northern ships which had rapidly been built and stationed at the harbors of the South. Thus help pupils to see how the South, being shut in to herself, with no outside resources, with no gold or silver mines, with no manufacturers, with nothing to rely upon except enormous heaps of cotton, great hogsheads of tobacco, barrels of sugar and barrels of rice, little of which could be sold, her resources grew less and less, until her bonds became worthless, her gold and silver, meager in quantity as it was, hidden away, and her credit, both at home and abroad, entirely destroyed.

43. **Military resources of the North.** Now picture to pupils the human resources of the North, — men, women, and children. Have them see a population of twenty-two millions of people (constantly being swelled by a stream of sympathetic and freedom-hunting foreigners), stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, sending forth mighty hosts of free and self-reliant men as from year to year they answer the call for the army, and thousands of devoted and self-sacrificing women as they freely, with bandage and tender touch, give themselves to the service of the hospital and the tent, — still leaving millions of free men at the plow, in the shop, and in the mine, and millions of women and children in the home, at the loom, and in the school, all equally devoted to a cause for which they are willing to sacrifice their lives.

44. **Military resources of the South.** Show pupils that while the North had a population of twenty-two millions, the South had a population of nine millions only, four millions of which were slaves; show them that these slaves,

though after the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863) no longer under legal obligations to tend the plantations and support the families, continued to a large degree to do so faithfully while their masters were on the field of battle; show them also that the Southern women, tender and gentle to all classes, gave themselves to hospital service, to superintending the plantations left almost without white men, and were as noble and self-sacrificing in the support of the cause to which they were devoted as were the women of the North. Lead pupils to see that, with the presence of slavery in the South and the ports closed, no stream of foreigners was flowing in from every country of Northern and Central Europe to replenish the Southern life, and that therefore the ranks of the Southern army were constantly thinning, until not only the young man from eighteen to thirty-five years of age but the boy of sixteen and the old man of sixty-five and seventy as well were called to the battlefield to defend the cause of secession and slavery, which the South still maintained as devotedly as the North maintained the cause of Union and freedom.

45. **Northern arms and equipment.** Likewise help pupils to see that in the North the factories and foundries which had been growing up for two generations, introducing machinery on the farms, through the mines, and in the shops, still continued to supply this machinery for the rapidly expanding life of the North, and in addition thereto drew from the boundless agricultural and mineral resources of the country material to supply the Northern army, of two million men and more, with blankets, clothing, camp equipment, cannons, swords, muskets, balls, and powder.

46. **Southern arms and equipment.** Recall to pupils that the South had no developed mines and no great manufactories to furnish military supplies, clothing, camp equipment, and the like, and help them to see that, as the war

progressed from year to year and the blockade tightened about her, the South was entirely cut off from all outside help and was compelled to gather her meager resources of iron and brass from home, shop, field, and church, melt them, manufacture them into implements of war, and devote them with ever-sparing hand to maintaining heroically her slowly losing cause.

47. **Final decisive factors.** With a picture of this mighty struggle of four years in pupils' minds, — with all its cruelty and crime; its suffering, gentleness, and sympathy; its courage, persistence, and hope; its devotion, fear, and faith, — help them to sum up the determining forces and factors which influenced, shaped, and finally determined the outcome of this great war. Let them discuss, as well as they can, the two sides, and say with frankness why they think victory fell where it did. Help them to name some of the great leaders on both sides and sympathetically study their biographies, — as, for example, those of Alexander Stephens, Jefferson Davis, "Stonewall Jackson," and Robert E. Lee, in the South; William H. Seward, Edwin Stanton, Thaddeus Stevens, Salmon P. Chase, Ulysses S. Grant, and Abraham Lincoln, in the North, — and have them see that, while there was a difference, and oftentimes a marked difference, in the material resources and number of men employed by the two sides in the war, in point of straightforwardness of action and honesty of view the opposing parties were equally sincere in purpose and equally sure each that its own cause was right.

48. **Two points of view.** Finally, help students to see that notwithstanding equal honesty and equal sincerity of view on the part of both the leaders and people, there was, nevertheless, a great difference in breadth, depth, and loftiness of view: for example, Jefferson Davis, as the leader of the South, supported the right of local government, which had

been for ages and was still very dear to the Anglo-Saxon race; while Abraham Lincoln, as the leader of the nation, not only exalted the worth of local government but saw with rare wisdom that for local government to have its full value it must be subordinated to and guided by a strong central hand. Davis appreciated and supported the right of individual property when it was to be enjoyed by the white race; but Lincoln, with a broader view and deeper sympathy, saw the injustice of depriving any human being in the world of a just reward for his labor. Davis lived among and supported lofty ideals of the home; but Lincoln, with a world-wide sympathy, saw that love of home and kindred is as universal as the human heart, and that the sacredness of the family is wholly independent of race or color of skin. Davis believed in a government based upon the consent of the well-born; but Lincoln, with a broader view, believed in a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

49. **Summary view.** Thus lead pupils to see that the views expressed by Davis on the rights of men as members of the state, the home, the laboring world, the social world, were not far from the views expressed and lived in the days of the fathers, but that the views held by Lincoln were the fathers' views clarified by two generations of national growth; that they were not limited by North or South, East or West, race or social rank, but were the views of a world-wide seer, leading his people, who not in word alone but in very deed were seeking to show to the world that the fathers were right when they declared that *all* men are created equal (meaning equal in opportunity) and should be given the fullest opportunity to work out their happiness untrammeled. Finally, help pupils to see that the war ended as it did because throughout the ages the world has been slowly moving toward freedom, and that Lincoln so clearly

saw and felt this mighty movement of the human race that he was able to become "a shepherd of mankind indeed, who loved his charge," and especially the American people, so sincerely that he was able to cement their broken lives into the freest and most perfect union yet devised by man.

III. THE FRUITAGE OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY, 1865–1909

1. **Beginning of reconstruction.** Now, with the war at an end, help pupils to realize the vast problems and great work which lay before the people of the nation as they gradually learned to join again into one great orderly government the life of states with nation and of nation with states.

Picture the returning of the soldiers to their homes with scars of honor and emblems of heroism, sometimes with armless sleeve or hopping on crutches, and often with deep-set germs of disease contracted from exposure of the march, the field, and the prison.

2. **Economic progress in the North.** Follow the Northern men as they march back to their plains, ranches, farms, orchards, forests, and mines, and observe the marvelous rapidity with which hundreds of thousands of men drop the sword and grasp the plow, inspired by a larger view of freedom resulting from the war. With the bountiful natural resources of the country and a chance for property for every one, lead pupils to appreciate the rapid development of the North, aided by steam and electricity, until the entire country, from California and the uttermost corner of the Northwest to New England and New York, was laced from side to side with steam roads, electric roads, telegraph and telephone, her farms and plains alive with the hum and noise of steam machinery of all kinds, and her towns and cities dotted over with great factories and furnaces, leading the nation forward as in ancient time, —"a cloud by day, a

pillar of fire by night," until now America has become entirely able in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, not only to supply her own people, but also to reach forth a bounteous hand in supplying the needs of the world.

3. **Condition in the South.** Help pupils to imagine the Southern planter as he returns home, only to see his fields devastated by war, his plantation no longer cultivated by slaves, his home, which had been so dear to him, depleted of every comfort, and he compelled either to go to work himself in the field or else hire those who from his childhood up had served him as slaves. Recall briefly to them the almost four hundred years of slavery, reaching from the African jungle down to the days of the Emancipation, and help them to see at the close of the war two peoples in the South, standing side by side, — the negro and the white man, — the one, because of centuries of enslavement, at that time the least advanced of the great races in the world, the other a noble representative of the most advanced race; the one illiterate and accustomed to the crudest and most meager ways of living, the other cultivated and accustomed to every refinement of life; the one with no property, no homes, no schools, no experience in matters of government, the other with generations of experience in developing and directing great industries, states, laws, and institutions of every kind.

4. **Economic and political problems in the South.** Now, with these two peoples in the South, — the white and the colored, — have pupils realize the enormous problem which stands before the nation as a whole and especially before the people of the South, as they go to work to learn the difficult lesson of united action, not only in the field of labor but in the state and national legislative halls as well. Help pupils to understand the difficulty of quickly lifting a people who had never been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their toil, and who therefore knew nothing of the dignity

and nobility of work, to a high standard and appreciation of manual labor; also have them realize the difficult problem of having the negroes immediately participate intelligently in the government of the states, which the nation, and especially the North, was anxious to have them do, in order to teach them lessons of government and self-reliance and have them catch step with the new national life which was moving forward since the close of the war. Study the United States Constitution, Amendment 13 (1865), Amendment 14 (1866), and Amendment 15 (1869), and lead pupils to see that they are the external expression of the difficult task of joining two races together in government and industrial life, which, as already said, were separated from each other by centuries of growth in education, property, culture, religion, and political experience.

5. **Lessons in reconstruction.** Study impartially with pupils a state government in the South, for example in South Carolina, ten years after the war. See the members of the legislature, mostly negroes, crude in dress, often cruder in mind, gathered from their small farms and often without property, meeting in the same halls in which Jefferson, Randolph, Calhoun, Hayne, Davis, and Stephens had met, making laws, at this most trying time in the history of the South, on the subject of voting, for raising and spending money, for public schools, building roads, taking care of the poor, and the like. Lead pupils to understand that the natural outcome of this kind of government, led often by greedy and unprincipled politicians from the North, was one which brought upon the states of the South, for some years after the war, as extravagant and wasteful a government as was ever experienced in American history.

6. **Cementing of the nation.** Now help pupils to see, notwithstanding all this waste, recklessness, and ignorance, a new and freer South gradually develop; see the cotton,

tobacco, rice, and sugar fields spread more rapidly and produce more wealth under the inspiration of free labor than they had done in the days of the slave; see the orchards pour forth their bounties into the lap of the North; see the coal and iron lifted from the earth in Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, and Tennessee, for the use of factories and furnaces rivaling those of the North. Thus help them to realize that the South in the first generation after the Civil War gained more rapidly than she had done in two generations before the war; that during this period she not only regained but broadened her material resources, joined them by means of steamboat and steam road to the interests of the North, established public schools for all classes, and moved forward industrially, politically, intellectually, and morally, under the leadership of wise and patriotic men, with broader views than those of section, party, or race.

7. **Intellectual and social advance.** Review briefly with pupils the vast material resources of the country, and picture their development as they have expanded with marvelous and unequaled rapidity since the war, harnessing every force in the universe and bringing it under the use of man. Help them to see as the outcome and blossom of this vast material development the rise of the poet, painter, statesman, and philosopher, all of them with those "larger, other eyes," seeing from the real to the ideal, calling to the nation ever to press forward. In answer to this call see the growth of the public school, libraries, universities, lecture courses, art galleries, beautiful cities and homes, and every facility for culture and learning uprising as if impelled by one lofty determination that all that the ages have produced shall be offered to every American; that all the Hebrew gave to the world in righteousness, the Greek in beauty, the Roman in law and order, the Anglo-Saxon in personal liberty, shall be spread before every American child, and

he shall come to possess it to the fullest extent of which he is capable.

8. **Problems of the future.** Help pupils to think out and discuss in a simple way some of the great problems of the future, and help them to suggest means for their solution. Thus, for example, discuss the just and fair dealing with the negro race; purifying of national and local politics; just laws of taxation; purifying and beautifying of city life and government; curbing of the power of great corporations; restricting of immigration; making a just and fair distribution of the fruits of labor among all who join in producing it; giving dignity and nobility to manual labor; taking women from sweat shops, compensating them equally with men for equal services, and enfranchising them; providing of laws guaranteeing to every child born a healthful body; taking children from factory, mine, mill, and sweat shop, and compelling, if necessary, their attendance at school.

9. **America as a world power.** When pupils have seen the great American heart throbbing with a common impulse in its effort to give an abundant life to each of its own citizens, help them also to see the American nation interested not only in the freedom of its own people, but also in the freedom and well being of the entire human race, — stretching forth its hand to the islands of the seas, to Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, — and beginning amidst great world problems the task of helping to lift up to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness those hitherto belated in the race for life. Talk over with pupils this larger view and mission of the American nation, and help them to interpret the lofty ideal of world work and true patriotism as expressed in the following lines from Lowell:

> Where is the true man's fatherland?
> Is it where he by chance is born?
> Doth not the yearning spirit scorn

In such scant borders to be spanned?
O yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
O yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another, —
Thank God for such a birthright, brother, —
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

REFERENCES FOR THE EIGHTH GRADE

See General Note on Reference Books preceding first-grade references. Attention is also called to the fact that many of the references cited for the seventh grade will be found helpful for eighth-grade work.

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DRAKE, S. A. Making of the Ohio Valley States. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894. $1.50.

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WILSON, WOODROW. *Division and Reunion, 1829–1889. (Epochs of American History.) New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1893. $1.25.

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ALTON, EDMUND. Among the Law Makers (juv.). New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886. $1.50.

AUSTIN, O. P. Uncle Sam's Secrets (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1897. 75 cents.

BRYCE, JAMES. *American Commonwealth. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1893. 3d. ed. 2 vols. $4.00.
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JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER. *History of American Politics. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1898. 4th. ed. 80 cents.

LALOR, J. J. Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States. New York, Charles E. Merrill Company, 1888. 3 vols. $15.00.

MACY, JESSE. *Our Government (juv.). Boston, Ginn and Company, 1886. Rev. ed. 75 cents.

TAUSSIG, F. W. Tariff History of the United States. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892. $1.25.

WILSON, WOODROW. Congressional Government. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. $1.25.

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COFFIN, C. C. Boys of '61 (juv.). Boston, Dana, Estes & Co., 1881. $2.00.

COFFIN, C. C. Drum-Beat of the Nation; Marching to Victory; Redeeming the Republic; Freedom Triumphant (juv.). New York, Harper & Bros., 1887–1899. 4 vols. $3.00 each.

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White, Horace. Money and Banking Illustrated by American History. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1902. Rev. ed. $1.50.

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Brooks, E. S. Historic Americans (juv.). New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1899. $1.50 each.

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THWAITES, R. G. Daniel Boone. (Appletons' Life Histories.) New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1902. $1.00.

TRENT, W. P. Robert E. Lee. (Beacon Biographies.) Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1899. 75 cents.

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CHURCHILL, WINSTON. The Crisis. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1901. $1.50.

Story of the Civil War.

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The effect of Burr's treason on a young naval officer.

HARRIS. J. C. Uncle Remus: his Songs and Sayings (juv.). New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1895. $2.00.

HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL. Blithdale Romance. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1852. Little Classic ed. $1.00.

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SMITH, NICHOLAS. Stories of Great National Songs. Milwaukee, Young Churchman Company, 1899. $1.00.

STOWE, H. B. Uncle Tom's Cabin. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1851. 25 cents up.

STRATEMEYER, EDWARD. Under Dewey at Manila. Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1898. $1.25.

Story of the Spanish-American War (1898).

For poems on slavery, see The Slave's Dream and other poems by Longfellow; Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Slave Ships, The Christain Slave, The Farewell, The Slaves of Martinique, Astræa in the Capitol, and others, by J. G. Whittier; On the Capture of Fugitive Slaves near Washington, by J. R. Lowell; The African Chief and Death of Slavery, by W. C. Bryant; The Dismal Swamp, by Lord Byron (Lawrence).

APPENDIX

MAGNA CHARTA

King John (1199–1216) was a tyrant and oppressed all classes, the clergy, the barons, and the common people. His unjust rule finally caused all these elements to unite against him. He lost Normandy and other feudal provinces in northern France to the French king in 1204. After a bitter struggle with the Church, beginning in 1205, he yielded, becoming a vassal to the Pope for England in 1213. Then he tried to regain the lost provinces in France, but his troops and those of his allies were defeated at Bouvines in Flanders in 1214. Meanwhile he had continued to tyrannize over his subjects. "He imprisoned men on mere suspicion, banished them without trial, ravaged their lands, and levied unaccustomed and intolerable taxes." Every class in the kingdom felt his heavy hand, and when he returned from France defeated, the barons, supported by the commons and the clergy, were able to bring him to bay. John was powerless against the united nation, and so he granted the Great Charter at Runnymede, a meadow twenty miles above London on the right bank of the Thames, June 15, 1215. The granting of this document is a landmark in the struggle of the English race for political liberty. It meant that the king as well as his subjects must obey the law. It became a platform around which the nation rallied in future struggles for free government.

The Great Charter of King John granted June 15, A.D. 1215.

John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Foresters, Sheriffs, Governors, Officers, and to all Bailiffs, and his faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the presence of God, and for the salvation of our soul, and the souls of all our ancestors and heirs, and unto the honour of God and the advancement of Holy Church, and amendment of our Realm, by advice of our venerable Fathers, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; Henry, Archbishop of Dublin; William, of London; Peter, of Winchester; Jocelin, of Bath and Glastonbury; Hugh, of Lincoln; Walter, of Worcester; William, of Coventry; Benedict, of Rochester — Bishops: of Master Pandulph, Sub-Deacon and Familiar of our Lord the Pope; Brother Aymeric, Master of the Knights-Templars in England; and of the noble Persons, William Marescall, Earl of Pembroke; William, Earl of Salisbury; William, Earl of Warren; William, Earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, Constable of Scotland; Warin FitzGerald, Peter FitzHerbert, and Hubert de Burgh, Seneschal of Poitou; Hugh de Neville, Matthew FitzHerbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip of Albiney, Robert de Roppell, John Mareschal, John FitzHugh, and others, our liegemen, have, in the first place, granted to God, and by this our present Charter confirmed, for us and our heirs for ever: —

1. That the Church of England shall be free, and have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolable; and we will have them so observed, that it may appear thence that the freedom of elections, which is reckoned chief and indispensable to the English Church, and which we granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the confirmation of the same from our Lord the Pope Innocent III., before the discord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which Charter we shall observe, and we do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.

2. We also have granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and for our heirs for ever, all the underwritten liberties, to be had and holden by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs for ever: If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at the time of his death his heir shall be of full age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief — that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earldom, by a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by a hundred shillings at most; and whoever oweth less shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

3. But if the heir of any such shall be under age, and shall be in ward, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.

4. The keeper of the land of such an heir being under age, shall take of the land of the heir none but reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of his men and his goods; and if we commit the custody of any such lands to the sheriff, or any other who is answerable to us for the issues of the land, and he shall make destruction and waste of the lands which he hath in custody, we will take of him amends, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we shall assign them; and if we sell or give to any one the custody of any such lands, and he therein make destruction or waste, he shall lose the same custody, which shall be committed to two lawful and discreet men of that fee, who shall in like manner answer to us as aforesaid.

5. But the keeper, so long as he shall have the custody of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and shall deliver to the heir, when he comes of full age, his whole land, stocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.

6. Heirs shall be married without disparagement, and so that before matrimony shall be contracted, those who are near in blood to the heir shall have notice.

7. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty have her marriage and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death; and she may remain in the mansion house of her husband forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned.

8. No widow shall be distrained to marry herself, so long as she has a mind to live without a husband; but yet she shall give security that she will not marry without our assent, if she hold of us; or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she hold of another.

9. Neither we nor our bailiffs shall seize any land or rent for any debt so long as the chattels of the debtor are sufficient to pay the debt; nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained so long as the principal debtor has sufficient to pay the debt; and if the principal debtor shall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it, then the sureties shall answer the debt; and if they will they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they shall be satisfied for the debt which they paid for him, unless the principal debtor can show himself acquitted thereof against the said sureties.

10. If any one have borrowed anything of the Jews, more or less, and die before the debt be satisfied, there shall be no interest paid for that debt, so long as the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will only take the chattel mentioned in the deed.

11. And if any one shall die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceased left children under age, they shall have necessaries provided for them, according to the tenement of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, saving, however, the service due to the lords, and in like manner shall it be done touching debts due to others than the Jews.

12. No scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the general council of our kingdom; except for ransoming our person, making our eldest son a knight, and once for marrying our eldest daughter; and

for these there shall be paid no more than a reasonable aid. In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the City of London.

13. And the City of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water: furthermore, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs, and towns and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.

14. AND FOR HOLDING THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE KINGDOM CONCERNING THE ASSESSMENT OF AIDS, EXCEPT IN THE THREE CASES AFORESAID, AND FOR THE ASSESSING OF SCUTAGES, WE SHALL CAUSE TO BE SUMMONED THE ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, ABBOTS, EARLS, AND GREATER BARONS OF THE REALM, SINGLY BY OUR LETTERS. AND FURTHERMORE, WE SHALL CAUSE TO BE SUMMONED GENERALLY, BY OUR SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS, ALL OTHERS WHO HOLD OF US IN CHIEF, FOR A CERTAIN DAY, THAT IS TO SAY, FORTY DAYS BEFORE THEIR MEETING AT LEAST, AND TO A CERTAIN PLACE; AND IN ALL LETTERS OF SUCH SUMMONS WE WILL DECLARE THE CAUSE OF SUCH SUMMONS. AND SUMMONS BEING THUS MADE, THE BUSINESS SHALL PROCEED ON THE DAY APPOINTED, ACCORDING TO THE ADVICE OF SUCH AS SHALL BE PRESENT, ALTHOUGH ALL THAT WERE SUMMONED COME NOT.

15. We will not for the future grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unless to ransom his body, and to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and for this there shall be only paid a reasonable aid.

16. No man shall be distrained to perform more service for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence.

17. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some place certain.

18. Trials upon the Writs of Novel Disseisin,[1] and of Mort d'Ancestor,[2] and of Darrein Presentment,[3] shall not be

[1] Writs by which one is thrown out of possession of property, as lands, rents, etc.

[2] A writ to decide who is entitled to a disputed piece of land when an ancestor has died.

[3] A writ to decide who has been legally chosen to a given position in the church, as rector, vicar, and the like.

taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner: We, or if we should be out of the realm, our chief justiciary, will send two justiciaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights of each county, chosen by the county, shall hold the said assizes[1] in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed.

19. And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the assizes in each county, so many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the assizes aforesaid shall stay to decide them as is necessary, according as there is more or less business.

20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but only according to the degree of the offence; and for a great crime according to the heinousness of it, saving to him his contenement[2]; and after the same manner a merchant, saving to him his merchandise. And a villein shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our mercy; and none of the aforesaid amerciaments shall be assessed but by the oath of honest men in the neighbourhood.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and after the degree of the offence.

22. No ecclesiastical person shall be amerced for his lay tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforesaid, and not according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice.

23. Neither a town nor any tenant shall be distrained to make bridges or embankments, unless that anciently and of right they are bound to do it.

24. No sheriff, constable, coroner, or other our bailiffs, shall hold "Pleas of the Crown."[3]

25. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings shall stand at the old rents, without any increase, except in our demesne manors.

26. If any one holding of us a lay fee die, and the sheriff, or our bailiffs, show our letters patent of summons for debt which the dead man did owe to us, it shall be lawful for the

[1] Assizes as here used means an assembly of important persons in the county, such as knights, called together to help the regular justices of the county judge the laws.

[2] That which is necessary to one's support, according to his station in life.

[3] Suits conducted in the name of the king for trying criminal cases.

sheriff or our bailiff to attach and register the chattels of the dead, found upon his lay fee, to the amount of the debt, by the view of lawful men, so as nothing be removed until our whole clear debt be paid; and the rest shall be left to the executors to fulfill the testament of the dead; and if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall go to the use of the dead, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

27. If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by view of the Church, saving to every one his debts which the deceased owed to him.

28. No constable or bailiff of ours shall take corn or other chattels of any man unless he presently give him money for it, or hath respite of payment by the good-will of the seller.

29. No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he himself will do it in his person, or by another able man, in case he cannot do it through any reasonable cause. And if we have carried or sent him into the army, he shall be free from such guard for the time he shall be in the army by our command.

30. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any freeman for carriage, without the assent of the said freeman.

31. Neither shall we nor our bailiffs take any man's timber for our castles or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber.

32. We will retain the lands of those convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

33. All kydells (wears) for the time to come shall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the sea-coast.

34. The writ which is called *præcipe*, for the future, shall not be made out to any one, of any tenement, whereby a freeman may lose his court.

35. There shall be one measure of wine and one of ale through our whole realm; and one measure of corn, that is to say, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and russets, and haberjeets, that is to say, two ells within the lists: and it shall be of weights as it is of measures.

36. NOTHING FROM HENCEFORTH SHALL BE GIVEN OR TAKEN FOR A WRIT OF INQUISITION OF LIFE OR LIMB, BUT IT SHALL BE GRANTED FREELY AND NOT DENIED.[1]

37. If any do hold of us by fee-farm, or by socage, or by burgage, and he hold also lands of any other by knight's service, we will not have the custody of the heir or land, which is holden of another man's fee by reason of that fee-farm, socage, or burgage; neither will we have the custody of the fee-farm, or socage, or burgage, unless knight's service was due to us out of the same fee-farm. We will not have the custody of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by knight's service, by reason of any petty serjeanty by which he holds of us, by the service of paying a knife, an arrow, or the like.

38. No bailiff from henceforth shall put any man to his law upon his own bare saying, without credible witnesses to prove it.

39. NO FREEMAN SHALL BE TAKEN OR IMPRISONED, OR DISSEISED, OR OUTLAWED, OR BANISHED, OR ANY WAYS DESTROYED, NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR WILL WE SEND UPON HIM, UNLESS BY THE LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND.[2]

40. WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY TO ANY MAN, EITHER JUSTICE OR RIGHT.[3]

41. All merchants shall have safe and secure conduct, to go out of, and to come into England, and to stay there and to pass as well by land as by water, for buying and selling by the ancient and allowed customs, without any unjust

[1] This provision is the early beginning from which developed the most famous writ known to the law — the writ of Habeas Corpus. It has persistently grown in England through the centuries from the Great Charter down to the present time. The English colonists in America early brought it here, extensively used it in developing their colonial life, and the American nation regards it to-day as one of the dearest birthrights of the Teutonic race.

[2] This provision is the foundation upon which jury trial has spread through all Anglo-Saxon countries. By means of the jury the *common man* gained in the Middle Ages, and continues to occupy, a most prominent and important place in carrying forward the judicial work of government.

[3] This article forms the basis for the right of petition, which has been struggled for and maintained throughout both English and American history. The principles of personal liberty growing out of Articles 36, 39, and 40, that is the writ of Habeas Corpus, the right of trial by jury, and the right of petition, are called by Creasy the "crowning glories" of the Great Charter.

tolls; except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us. And if there be found any such in our land, in the beginning of the war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it be known unto us, or our chief justiciary, how our merchants be treated in the nation at war with us; and if ours be safe there, the others shall be safe in our dominions.

42. It shall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return safely and securely by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us; unless in time of war, by some short space, for the common benefit of the realm, except prisoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who shall be treated as is above mentioned.

43. If any man hold of any escheat,[1] as of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other escheats which be in our hands, and are baronies, and die, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service to us than he would to the baron, if it were in the baron's hand; and we will hold it after the same manner as the baron held it.

44. Those men who dwell without the forest from henceforth shall not come before our justiciaries of the forest, upon common summons, but such as are impleaded, or are sureties for any that are attached for something concerning the forest.[2]

45. We will not make any justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm and mean duly to observe it.

46. All barons who have founded abbeys, which they hold by charter from the kings of England, or by ancient tenure, shall have the keeping of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All forests that have been made forests in our time shall forthwith be disforested; and the same shall be done with the water-banks that have been fenced in by us in our time.

[1] An escheat is the falling of property back into the hands of the lord (if in feudal times) or into the hands of the state (if in modern times) because of the failure of legal heirs to inherit it.

[2] The laws for keeping up the royal forests, regulating them, and carrying out justice in them, formed a large body of laws, just as those dealing with public lands have also formed a large body of laws in America.

48. All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, foresters, and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall forthwith be inquired into in each county, by twelve sworn knights of the same county, chosen by creditable persons of the same county; and within forty days after the said inquest be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored: so as we are first acquainted therewith, or our justiciary, if we should not be in England.

49. We will immediately give up all hostages and charters delivered unto us by our English subjects, as securities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful service.

50. We will entirely remove from their bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Atheyes, so that for the future they shall have no bailiwick in England; we will also remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the Chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martyn, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers, and his nephew, Geoffrey, and their whole retinue.

51. As soon as peace is restored, we will send out of the kingdom all foreign knights, cross-bowmen, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the molestation of our people.

52. If any one has been dispossessed or deprived by us, without the lawful judgment of his peers, of his lands, castles, liberties, or right, we will forthwith restore them to him; and if any dispute arise upon this head, let the matter be decided by the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preservation of the peace. And for all those things of which any person has, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been dispossessed or deprived, either by our father King Henry, or our brother King Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are possessed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we shall have a respite till the term usually allowed the crusaders; excepting those things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inquest hath been made, by our order before we undertook the crusade; but as soon as we return from our expedition, or if perchance we tarry at home and do not make our expedition, we will immediately cause full justice to be administered therein.

53. The same respite we shall have, and in the same manner, about administering justice, disafforesting or letting continue the forests, which Henry our father, and our brother Richard, have afforested; and the same concerning the wardship of the lands which are in another's fee, but the wardship of which we have hitherto had, by reason of a fee held of us by knight's service; and for the abbeys founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee says he has a right; and when we return from our expedition, or if we tarry at home, and do not make our expedition, we will immediately do full justice to all the complainants in this behalf.

54. No man shall be taken or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than her husband.

55. All unjust and illegal fines made by us, and all amerciaments imposed unjustly and contrary to the law of the land, shall be entirely given up, or else be left to the decision of the five-and-twenty barons hereafter mentioned for the preservation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforesaid Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to invite; and if he cannot be present, the business shall notwithstanding go on without him; but so that if one or more of the aforesaid five-and-twenty barons be plaintiffs in the same cause, they shall be set aside as to what concerns this particular affair, and others be chosen in their room, out of the said five-and-twenty, and sworn by the rest to decide the matter.

56. If we have disseised or dispossessed the Welsh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, either in England or in Wales, they shall be immediately restored to them; and if any dispute arise upon this head, the matter shall be determined in the Marches by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England according to the law of England, for tenements in Wales according to the law of Wales, for tenements of the Marches according to the law of the Marches: the same shall the Welsh do to us and our subjects.

57. As for all those things of which a Welshman hath, without the lawful judgment of his peers, been disseised or deprived of by King Henry our father, or our brother King

Richard, and which we either have in our hands or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we shall have a respite till the time generally allowed the crusaders; excepting those things about which a suit is depending, or whereof an inquest has been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade: but when we return, or if we stay at home without performing our expedition, we will immediately do them full justice, according to the laws of the Welsh and of the parts before mentioned.

58. We will without delay dismiss the son of Llewellyn, and all the Welsh hostages, and release them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preservation of the peace.

59. We will treat with Alexander, King of Scots, concerning the restoring his sisters and hostages, and his right and liberties, in the same form and manner as we shall do to the rest of our barons of England; unless by the charters which we have from his father, William, late King of Scots, it ought to be otherwise; and this shall be left to the determination of his peers in our court.

60. All the aforesaid customs and liberties, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us, all people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, shall observe, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents.

61. And whereas, for the honour of God and the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better quieting the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these things aforesaid; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant our subjects the underwritten security, namely that the barons may choose five-and-twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient; who shall take care, with all their might, to hold and observe, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and by this our present Charter confirmed in this manner; that is to say, that if we, our justiciary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall in any circumstance have failed in the performance of them towards any person, or shall have broken through any of these articles of peace and security, and the offence be notified to four barons chosen out of the five-and-twenty before mentioned, the said four

barons shall repair to us, or our justiciary, if we are out of the realm, and, laying open the grievance, shall petition to have it redressed without delay: and if it be not redressed by us, or if we should chance to be out of the realm, if it should not be redressed by our justiciary within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our justiciary (if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall lay the cause before the rest of the five-and-twenty barons; and the said five-and-twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress us in all the ways in which they shall be able, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redressed, according to their pleasure; saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our Queen and children; and when it is redressed, they shall behave to us as before. And any person whatsoever in the kingdom may swear that he will obey the orders of the five-and-twenty barons aforesaid in the execution of the premises, and will distress us, jointly with them, to the utmost of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that shall please to swear to this, and never will hinder any person from taking the same oath.

62. As for all those of our subjects who will not, of their own accord, swear to join the five-and-twenty barons in distraining and distressing us, we will issue orders to make them take the same oath as aforesaid. And if any one of the five-and-twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from carrying the things aforesaid into execution, the rest of the said five-and-twenty barons may choose another in his room, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner as the rest. In all things that are committed to the execution of these five-and-twenty barons, if, when they are all assembled together, they should happen to disagree about any matter, and some of them, when summoned, will not or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of those that are present shall be reputed as firm and valid as if all the five-and-twenty had given their consent; and the aforesaid five-and-twenty shall swear that all the premises they shall faithfully observe, and cause with all their power to be

observed. And we will procure nothing from any one, by ourselves nor by another, whereby any of these concessions and liberties may be revoked or lessened; and if any such thing shall have been obtained, let it be null and void; neither will we ever make use of it either by ourselves or by any other. And all the ill-will, indignations, and rancours that have arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the first breaking out of the dissensions between us, we do fully remit and forgive: moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said dissensions, from Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign till the restoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and as far as in us lies do fully forgive. We have, moreover, caused to be made for them the letters patent testimonial of Stephen, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops aforesaid, as also of Master Pandulph, for the security and concessions aforesaid.

63. Whereof we will and firmly enjoin, that the Church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly to themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, for ever, as is aforesaid. It is also sworn, as well on our part as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforesaid shall be observed in good faith, and without evil subtilty. Given under our hand, in the presence of the witnesses above named, and many others, in the meadow called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, the 15th day of June, in the 17th year of our reign.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT

The Petition of Right is the second great document in the struggle for constitutional freedom in England. The king, Charles I (1625–1649), held that he ruled by Divine Right, saying to Parliament, "I must avow, that I owe the account of my actions to God alone." Charles was forced to sign the Petition of Right, June 7, 1628. He had already

dissolved two Parliaments, and in 1629 he dismissed this third one, dissolving it a few days after the House of Commons, amidst stirring scenes and great confusion, had passed three very defiant resolutions. Then for eleven years he was able to rule without a Parliament. He called his next Parliament in the spring of 1640, which he dissolved after a session of three weeks. Later in the same year he called another, known in history as the Long Parliament. This body was not finally dissolved till 1660, though dispersed by Cromwell in 1653. From the day of its assembling, the Long Parliament practically took the government into its own hands. In 1642 the struggle between it and the king was transferred to the battlefield. In the Civil War the Parliamentary forces won over the Royalists. In 1649 the king was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. Parliament and its army were supreme; the principles involved in Magna Charta and the Petition of Right were temporarily vindicated. In 1660 the Stuart house was restored to the throne, but only to be forever banished in 1688, when the supremacy of Parliament over the king was permanently established.

The Petition of Right exhibited to His Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Present Parliament assembled, June 7, 1628.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

1. Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the goodwill and assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses,

and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of Parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans[1] to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition, called a Benevolence, or by such like charge; by which the statutes before-mentioned[2], and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in Parliament.

2. Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry Commissioners in several counties with instructions have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your Privy Council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Commissioners for Musters, Justices of Peace and others, by command or direction from your Majesty or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

3. And whereas also by the statute called, 'The Great Charter of the Liberties of England,'[3] it is declared and

[1] Charles I is *forced* to sign the "Petition of Right," which is a law passed by Parliament securing four great rights: (1) freedom from forced loans; (2) freedom from arbitrary imprisonment without the right of the writ of Habeas Corpus; (3) freedom from having soldiers stationed upon the people in time of peace; (4) freedom from trial by martial law in time of peace.

[2] Benevolences, which were represented by the king as voluntary gifts made by the people, were *forced loans* which the crown had made larger and larger almost since the days of Magna Charta.

[3] This statute grew out of Magna Charta, Article 39.

enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled; or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

4. And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

5. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed;[1] and when for their deliverance they were brought before your Justices, by your Majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the Court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the Lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

6. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn,[2] against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

7. And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter, and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged

[1] Two great liberties are claimed in this section: (1) the right to free speech, since the persons imprisoned were confined for utterances in Parliament, and (2) the right to the writ of Habeas Corpus.

[2] Stationing soldiers and sailors on the citizens was lawful only in time of war.

to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by Acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless of late divers commissions under your Majesty's Great Seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed Commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law[1] against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order, as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial.

8. By pretext whereof, some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said Commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, adjudged and executed.

9. And also sundry grievous offenders by colour thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid, which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

10. They do therefore humbly pray your Most Excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge,

[1] It was a long and hard struggle, from Magna Charta for the next five hundred years, to prevent the English Crown from ruling by martial law in civil cases. Elizabeth did not hesitate to so use it, and Charles I made most strenuous efforts to use it in civil cases.

without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

11. All which they most humbly pray of your Most Excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

[Which Petition being read the 2nd of June, 1628, the King's answer was thus delivered unto it.

The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative.

On June 7 the answer was given in the accustomed form, *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*[1]]

[1] Let justice be done as desired.

The Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage

[June 25, 1628.]

Most Gracious Sovereign, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, being in nothing more careful than of the honour and prosperity of your Majesty, and the kingdom, which they know do much depend upon that happy union and relation betwixt your Majesty and your people, do with much sorrow apprehend, that by reason of the incertainty of their continuance together, the unexpected interruptions which have been cast upon them, and the shortness of time in which your Majesty hath determined to end this Session, they cannot bring to maturity and perfection divers businesses of weight, which they have taken into their consideration and resolution, as most important for the common good: amongst other things they have taken into especial care the preparing of a Bill for the granting of your Majesty such a subsidy of [1] Tonnage and Poundage, as might uphold your profit and revenue in as ample a manner as their just care and respect of trade (wherein not only the prosperity, but even the life of the kingdom doth consist) would permit: but being a work which will require much time, and preparation by conference with your Majesty's officers, and with the merchants, not only of London, but of other remote parts, they find it not possible to be accomplished at this time: wherefore considering it will be much more prejudicial to the right of the subject, if your Majesty should continue to receive the same without authority of law, after the determination of a Session, than if there had been a recess by adjournment only, in which case that intended grant would have related to the first day of the Parliament; and assuring themselves that your Majesty is resolved to observe that your royal answer, which you have lately made to the Petition of Right of both Houses of Parliament; yet doubting lest your Majesty may be misinformed concerning this particular case, as if you might

[1] As commerce grew rapidly in England through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the opportunities for the crown to gather arbitrary taxes from the merchant class increased; hence the numerous and intense struggles against tonnage, poundage, ship money, and the like, which were taxes assessed by Charles I without consent of Parliament and which largely brought on the civil war, 1642–1649.

continue to take those subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, and other impositions upon merchants, without breaking that answer, they are forced by that duty which they owe to your Majesty, and to those whom they represent, to declare, that there ought not any imposition to be laid upon the goods of merchants, exported or imported, without common consent by Act of Parliament, which is the right and inheritance of your subjects, founded not only upon the most ancient and original constitution of this kingdom, but often confirmed and declared in divers statute laws.

And for the better manifestation thereof, may it please your Majesty to understand, that although your royal predecessors the Kings of this realm have often had such subsidies, and impositions granted unto them, upon divers occasions, especially for the guarding of the seas, and safeguard of merchants; yet the subjects have been ever careful to use such cautions, and limitations in those grants, as might prevent any claim to be made, that such subsidies do proceed from duty, and not from the free gift of the subjects: and that they have heretofore used to limit a time in such grants, and for the most part but short, as for a year or two, and if it were continued longer, they have sometimes directed a certain space of cessation, or intermission, that so the right of the subject might be more evident. At other times it hath been granted upon occasion of war, for a certain number of years, with proviso, that if the war were ended in the meantime, then the grant should cease; and of course it hath been sequestered into the hands of some subjects to be employed for the guarding of the seas. And it is acknowledged by the ordinary answers of your Majesty's predecessors in their assent to the Bills of subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, that it is of the nature of other subsidies, proceeding from the goodwill of the subject. Very few of your predecessors had it for life, until the reign of Henry VII, who was so far from conceiving he had any right thereunto, that although he granted commissions for collecting certain duties and customs due by law, yet he made no commissions for receiving the subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, until the same was granted unto him in Parliament. Since his time all the Kings and Queens of this realm have had the like grants for life by the free

love and goodwill of the subjects. And whensoever the people have been grieved by laying any impositions or other charges upon their goods and merchandises without authority of law (which hath been very seldom), yet upon complaint in Parliament they have been forthwith relieved; saving in the time of your royal father, who having through ill counsel raised the rates and charges upon merchandises to that height at which they now are, yet he was pleased so far forth to yield to the complaint of his people, as to offer that if the value of those impositions which he had set might be made good unto him, he would bind himself and his heirs by Act of Parliament never to lay any other; which offer the Commons at that time, in regard of the great burden, did not think fit to yield unto. Nevertheless, your loyal Commons in this Parliament, out of their especial zeal to your service, and especial regard of your pressing occasions, have taken into their consideration, so to frame a grant of subsidy of Tonnage or Poundage to your Majesty, that both you might have been the better enabled for the defence of your realm, and your subjects, by being secure from all undue charges, be the more encouraged cheerfully to proceed in their course of trade; by the increase whereof your Majesty's profit, and likewise the strength of the kingdom would be very much augmented.

But not now being able to accomplish this their desire, there is no course left unto them, without manifest breach of their duty, both to your Majesty and their country, save only to make this humble declaration, 'That the receiving of Tonnage and Poundage, and other impositions not granted by Parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and contrary to your Majesty's royal answer to the said Petition of Right.' And therefore they do most humbly beseech your Majesty to forbear any further receiving of the same, and not to take it in ill part from those of your Majesty's loving subjects, who shall refuse to make payment of any such charges, without warrant of law demanded.

And as by this forbearance, your Most Excellent Majesty shall manifest unto the world your royal justice in the observation of your laws: so they doubt not, but hereafter,

at the time appointed for their coming again, they shall have occasion to express their great desire to advance your Majesty's honour and profit.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

William of Orange, ruler of the Dutch Republic, and his wife Mary were invited to England to take the throne by a number of great Whig and Tory lords in 1688. James II, last of the Stuart kings (1685–1688), finding himself without support, fled to France. A glorious revolution thus took place without bloodshed. Parliament drew up a Declaration of Rights to which William and Mary gave their assent. Early in 1689 they were crowned and proclaimed King and Queen. A new Parliament was then called that enacted the Declaration into a statute, in which form it is known as the Bill of Rights. The principle of Divine Right was at last dead ; the nation, through Parliament, supreme. Since then the English sovereign is the servant of the nation, holding office by virtue of an Act of Parliament, and subject to removal by Parliament, should any serious attempt be made to play a part other than that assigned by law and custom.

Extracts from the Bill of Rights (1689)

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the Thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-eight, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of

Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain Declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following, viz. : —

"Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom : —

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.[1]

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.[2]

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognisable only in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal causes.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned, and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

[1] In the early history of England the dispensing power was considered legal. An arbitrary king could use this power very tyrannically. See Declaration of Independence for similar complaints, and compare the grievances set forth in the Bill of Rights with those set forth in the Declaration.

[2] See Petition of Right, 10 and 11.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.[1]

And whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:[2]—

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

[1] Work out cases through the courts, the legislature, and the executive, illustrative of the complaints made in the Bill of Rights.

[2] Compare the method of securing the Bill of Rights (Act of Parliament) with that of securing the United States Constitution (special convention).

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.[1]

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.[2]

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.[3]

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

[1] Compare with right of petition in Declaration of Independence, and Constitution of United States, Amendments, Art. I.

[2] See Articles of Confederation, Art. V, and Constitution of United States, Amendments, Art. I.

[3] See Magna Charta, Art. 36.

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly." [1]

The act goes on to state that "William and Mary having accepted the crown upon these terms the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of the kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed as they are expressed in the said declaration;

[1] This is the first *official* statement in English history that the right of government comes from the people and is not given directly by God. Compare with the Declaration of Independence: "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come."

The act then goes on to declare that William and Mary "Are and of right ought to be King and Queen of England," and it further goes on to regulate the succession of the English crown after their deaths.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A committee of five to draw up a declaration of independence was appointed by the Continental Congress, June 10, 1776. This Committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson, who was a poor speaker but an able writer, was appointed to make the draft, and his draft was accepted, with some few changes, by the Committee and by Congress. The chief change made was the omission of the clause charging the English king with keeping the American colonies open as a slave market for English traders. The adoption of the Declaration by Congress, July 4, 1776, was due to the eloquence and influence of John Adams more than to that of any other man. Jefferson skillfully shaped the argument in the Declaration to show (1) that the right to govern grew out of the consent of the people governed; (2) that the English Parliament had no rightful authority to make laws for the American colonies because they were not represented in it; and (3) that the English king by tyrannical rule had grievously violated the rights which the American colonists were entitled to under the English Constitution, and that it was therefore the colonies' right and duty to withdraw from England and set up an independent government of their own.

The Declaration of Independence is the logical outgrowth of Magna Charta, Petition of Right, and Bill of Rights, in

English history. It has taken the same place in the history of liberty in America that Magna Charta has in the history of liberty in England.

In the entire history of the growth of the spirit of nationality from 1776 to the Civil War, it was a constantly growing question of debate whether the Declaration of Independence was essentially made by the nation as a whole or by the individual states, each acting as a sovereign power.

The Unanimous Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen United States of America In Congress, July 4, 1776.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably

the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.[1]

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.[2]

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.[3]

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Natural-

[1] Compare with Bill of Rights, 1.

[2] Compare this grievance with that of Magna Charta, 17.

[3] Compare with the policy of the Stuarts in dissolving Parliament. The assemblies of both Virginia and Massachusetts were dissolved by the royal governors ruling in them.

ization of Foreigners ;[1] refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.[2]

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.[3]

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.[4]

He has combined with others [5] to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: [6]

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent: [7]

[1] In 1746 Parliament passed a general naturalization law providing that a voter must have resided seven years in his colony, taken the oath of allegiance, and professed the "Protestant Christian faith." England, near the middle of the eighteenth century, commanded her colonial governors to grant no more land and to permit no settlements west of the "Sources of the Atlantic Board Rivers."

[2] The colonists wished the length of term and amount of salary of the colonial judges to be under their own control.

[3] Troops were sent to Boston in 1768, and were at times "billeted" on the people without the consent of the colonists, in this and other colonies, at the outbreak of the Revolution. Compare this complaint with 6, Petition of Right, and 5 and 6, Bill of Rights.

[4] Government by martial law was a constant menace to English liberty. See Petition of Right, 7, 8, 9 and 10; Bill of Rights, 5.

[5] "Others" refers to the English Parliament. Those who adopted the Declaration of Independence did not acknowledge any authority of Parliament to make laws for them, since they had no representation in it. For the same reason the American colonists regarded the acts passed by the English Parliament concerning them as "pretended legislation."

[6] Refers to Port Bill, closing the port of Boston.

[7] Refers to the Stamp Act.

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury :[1]

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies :[2]

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :[3]

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.[4]

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.[5]

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty &

[1] From the time the soldiers were stationed at Boston (1768) to the outbreak of the war (1775), on account of the growth of passion on both sides, it became more and more difficult for the English to secure fair jury trial for acts committed while seeking to carry out their orders from the English government; hence the attempt on the part of England (1) to suspend jury trial in many instances, settling disputes instead through the Vice-Admiralty Court; and (2) to send offenders to England to be tried by English courts.

[2] "Quebec Act" passed by Parliament, 1774, organizing the territory northwest of the Ohio River, extending to the Mississippi, into a province or colony called the province of Quebec. Since England in organizing it provided for no legislature, trial by jury, or writ of habeas corpus for those settling therein, the colonists complained that it was an example of arbitrary and despotic government which would threaten the free institutions of all the colonies.

[3] This was the most fundamental and vital of all the complaints set forth by the Declaration. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and others had had their charters taken from them or altered. To take their charters from them seemed to the colonists to tear their liberties up by the very roots.

[4] As colonial feeling grew more intense just prior to the opening of the Revolution, the royal governors were ordered to suspend and then to dissolve the assemblies in many of the colonies. The assemblies in Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, New York, and Massachusetts were all dissolved in the years immediately preceding the war.

[5] Arrival of General Gage and British troops in Boston, and battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill.

perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.[1]

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.[2]

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.[3]

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned [4] for Redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned [5] them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

[6] We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to

[1] This refers to the hired Hessian soldiers brought from Germany.

[2] This practice on the part of England of capturing sailors who were American citizens and pressing them into the service of the English navy continued from this time down to the close of the War of 1812, — a period of full forty years.

[3] Both the Continental Congress and the British employed Indians to some extent in the Revolutionary War.

[4] Compare with Bill of Rights, 5. For examples of colonial petitions to England read Resolutions passed by the Virginia legislature, 1765; also Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 1765.

[5] Declaration of Rights, 1774, of Continental Congress.

[6] Study the words of the Declaration, pointing out those expressions in it which tend to show national feeling and those which tend to show state feeling in the minds of those who made it.

the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire. JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay. SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island. STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut. ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York. WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey. RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania. ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware. CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland. SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Virginia. GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina. WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina. EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, Junr., THOMAS LYNCH, Junr., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia. BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

The names of the signers are here spelled as in the original.

Extract from Jefferson's Original Draft of the Declaration of Independence, showing the Estimate by the American Colonies of England's Attitude in Regard to the Slave Trade

He [King George III] *has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.*

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL *powers, is the warfare of the* CHRISTIAN *King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where* MEN *should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the* LIBERTIES *of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the* LIVES *of another.*

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

November 15, 1777, the Continental Congress adopted Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the thirteen colonies which had united in the Declaration of Independence. These articles were not binding on any state until they were agreed to by all. The states were slow in giving their assent, the last not agreeing till March 1, 1781.

The government formed under the Articles of Confederation was in every sense a league, — formed by state

legislatures, ratified by state legislatures, controlled by state legislatures. It had but one department of government well-developed, — the legislature, — hence it was weak. Though very inefficient as a government, it helped the American people to bridge over a critical period of intense state feeling, and helped them to learn slowly and by bitter experience lessons of national action and feeling which they could have learned no other way. Congress rapidly declined in power during 1786, 1787, and 1788. On July 14, 1788, Congress announced the ratification of our present Constitution by nine states, the number necessary to make it binding. It then made arrangements for the day and place of the inauguration of President Washington; from this time forward one or two delegates from a state kept up the form of meeting in the Continental Congress till March 2, 1789, when the government under the Articles of Confederation flickered and went out.

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia

Article I. The style of this Confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

Art. II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.[1]

[1] State consciousness and state feeling as opposed to national feeling are strongly set forth in Article II. This was but natural since the Americans had just been struggling against a very strong and arbitrary central government, as carried on by George III.

ART. III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.[1]

ART. IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce [2] subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them.[3] If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.[4] Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ART. V.[5] For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be

[1] Compare the nature and purpose of the Union as stated in Article III with that stated in the Preamble of the United States Constitution.

[2] Notwithstanding this provision, one of the sources of perpetual discord and ill-feeling between the states was the difference in laws which the individual states made in regulating commerce both on land and sea.

[3] Compare with U. S. Const., Art. II, cl. 2.

[4] Compare with U. S. Const., Art. I, cl. 1.

[5] The machinery of government as here provided for, in which the whole executive, legislative, and judicial power is placed in the hands of one body, is the chief example of its kind in American history. All the colonial

annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members;[1] and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States and while they act as members of the Committee of the States. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.[2]

ART. VI.[3] No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the

governments in America, and the constitution following the Articles of Confederation (1787), made careful provision for *three* well-balanced departments of government, — executive, legislative, and judicial. The growth of English constitutional history, on the contrary, is the greatest known example of a strong and free government which has grown till its supreme governing power over king, courts, and legislature is expressed in *one body*, the House of Commons, in some particulars as the Americans attempted to work it out under the Articles of Confederation.

[1] This provision greatly prevented the development of a strong national feeling among the states by breaking off the service of each state's delegates every three years.

[2] Compare with Bill of Rights, 9, and U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 6, cl. 1.

[3] Compare with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 10, cl. 1.

United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.[1]

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State or its trade, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State ; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use in public stores a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.[2]

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted ; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof,

[1] This provision was violated by a compact between Virginia and Maryland, regarding commerce, just as a like provision under our present Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 10, cl. 1) was violated by the attempt of the South to establish a Southern Confederacy (1861–1865).

[2] Compare with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 10, cl. 3.

against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.[1]

ART. VII. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ART. VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.[2]

ART. IX. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty

[1] This provision was poorly respected by the states, since the central government did not possess sufficient military power to render efficient protection. For example, Georgia, in disregard of the Continental Congress, made war and treaty with the Creek Indians of Georgia.

[2] The provision for raising money for the central government during the Articles of Confederation by making "requisitions" upon the states proved entirely insufficient for maintaining a strong, vigorous government. It was the opposite extreme of control of the purse from the days of Magna Charta and Petition of Right, when the crown undertook by numerous devices to gain absolute control of the purse. Compare power of central government over taxation as stated here with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 1.

of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.[1]

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever;[2] which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following:[3] Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor

[1] Compare powers of the central government as stated here with powers under the Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 11–18.

[2] Compare the organization, strength, and independence of the national court system, as provided here, with that provided under the U. S. Const., Art. III, Sec. 1, and Sec. 2, cl. 1 and 2.

[3] The court machinery as here set up was exceedingly clumsy, entirely inadequate, and was tried but a single time during the Articles, 1781–1789.

more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or to defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies[1] concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for

[1] Controversies concerning Western overlapping claims to lands, and the like, for example, in the Wyoming valley.

deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States ;[1] fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States ; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States ; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated ; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office ; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers ; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States ; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated " A Committee of the States,"[2] and to consist of one delegate from each State, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction ; to appoint one of their number to preside ; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years ; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses ; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so

[1] Compare with Magna Charta, 35, 41, and 42, for early steps of the central government in regulating matters pertaining to trade ; for example, the coining of money, establishing of uniform weights and measures, etc. Also compare with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 5.

[2] This Committee of the States was without power to enforce any recommendation it might make, was practically without power to legislate, and hence was a complete failure.

borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled;[1] but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning

[1] This refers to fears of rebellious (for example, Shays's) riots, seditious outbreaks (as in Rhode Island), conflicts with the frontier Indians, and the like, which the central government, being so poorly supported, was hardly able to control.

from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.[1]

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ART. X. The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ART. XI. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ART. XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.[2]

[1] Compare with provision for passing a bill in Congress, U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 7, cl. 2. The rule requiring a vote of nine states out of thirteen to pass a bill practically clogged legislation.

[2] As the United States had no independent taxing power, this provision gave it no financial standing either at home or abroad, and hence was practically of little account.

ART. XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them.[1] And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.[1]

And Whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

On the part & behalf of the State of New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT, JOHN WENTWORTH, JUNR.
August 8, 1778.

[1] There was no judicial department to enforce this provision of the articles, hence it was constantly broken.

On the part and behalf of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

JOHN HANCOCK,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
FRANCIS DANA,
JAMES LOVELL,
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

On the part and behalf of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

WILLIAM ELLERY,
HENRY MARCHANT,
JOHN COLLINS.

On the part and behalf of the State of Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

On the part and behalf of the State of New York.

JAS. DUANE,
FRA. LEWIS,
WM. DUER,
GOUV. MORRIS.

On the part and in behalf of the State of New Jersey, Novr. 26, 1778.

JNO. WITHERSPOON,
NATHL. SCUDDER.

On the part and behalf of the State of Pennsylvania.

ROBT. MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,
JONA. BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED, 22d July, 1778.

On the part & behalf of the State of Delaware.

THO. M'KEAN, Feby. 12, 1779.
JOHN DICKINSON, May 5th, 1779,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland.

JOHN HANSON,
March 1, 1781.
DANIEL CARROLL,
Mar. 1, 1781.

On the part and behalf of the State of Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JNO. HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

On the part and behalf of the State of No. Carolina.

JOHN PENN, July 21st, 1778.
CORNS. HARNETT,
JNO. WILLIAMS.

On the part & behalf of the State of South Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS, RICHD. HUTSON,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON, THOS. HAYWARD, JUNR.
JNO. MATTHEWS,

On the part & behalf of the State of Georgia.

JNO. WALTON, 24th July, 1778. EDWD. LANGWORTHY.
EDWD. TELFAIR,

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

It was the desire of Thomas Jefferson and other great statesmen of his time to have the entire territory extending from the Gulf of Mexico north to the British possessions and west of the original thirteen states, divided into equal parts and admitted as free states into the Confederation as soon as they grew to have sufficient population. Jefferson, as delegate from Virginia, in 1784, introduced into the Congress of the Confederation a bill organizing this entire western territory and providing for its government, but Congress failed to pass it on account of the provision that slavery should be prohibited in these western lands. Three years later, largely under New England influence, Congress passed the Ordinance of 1787, organizing the lands lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi into the Northwest Territory, the framework of the organization being essentially the same as that provided by Jefferson in 1784.

The provisions of this Ordinance are so liberal and wise, and have exerted such far-reaching influence on the development of territorial life as it has grown westward, that it might very properly be called the Magna Charta of American territorial development.

Some of the most important provisions are: (1) this territory shall be cut into divisions, not less than three nor more than five, and these shall be admitted into the

Union as states, on perfect equality with the original thirteen, as rapidly as a territory has sufficient population; (2) negro slavery shall be prohibited in the territory forever; (3) learning and free schools shall be encouraged therein; (4) trial by jury, the writ of Habeas Corpus, and proportional representation in the legislature shall be guaranteed; (5) religious freedom shall be secure.

The most important feature of the Ordinance from a political point of view is, that it is the first deliberate effort on the part of the American people to establish a government composed of a constantly increasing number of states, dovetailed into the life of the nation, producing an ever-enlarging nation, dovetailed into the life of the states.

The Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half-blood;

saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.[1]

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in 1000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.[2]

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of

[1] Compare the just and democratic provisions in this section for the descent of property in the Northwest Territory with those which would have been made at this time in other countries, — England, for example, — where the land would have descended to the eldest son, according to the law of primogeniture.

[2] Notwithstanding the central government under the Continental Congress was entirely controlled by a *single* department of government, — the legislative, — when Congress organized the Northwest Territory it provided for the speedy development of *three* complete departments, — the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

land, while in the exercise of his office ; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his Executive department ; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress : There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices ; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time : which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress ; but, afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers ; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same : After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of the magistrates and other civil officers, shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly ; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof ; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the

Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.[1]

So soon as there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That, for every 500 free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to 25; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: *Provided*, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, 200 acres of land within the same: *Provided, also*, That a freehold in 50 acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives.[2] The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner

[1] The immediate springing up of local governments — both the county and the township — in the woods of the Northwest Territory is but the natural fruitage of the free institutions planted more than a thousand years before by our Teutonic ancestors in the German forests, carried from there to England, thence across the sea to the Atlantic coast, and now (1787) borne across the mountains and rooted in the Northwest.

[2] Compare with the legislature provided by the Articles of Confederation.

removed by Congress ; any three of whom to be a quorum:[1] and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together ; and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in 500 acres of land, and return their names to Congress ; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid ; and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress ; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress ; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent.[2] The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office ; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor.[3] As soon as a legislature

[1] The legislative council, being appointive rather than elective, and not growing in size as the population grew, was much disliked. Compare with Senate of the United States, U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 3, cl. 1.

[2] Compare with power of President under the United States Constitution, Art. II, Sec. 3, cl. 1.

[3] This has been the uniform practice in territories ever since.

shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress,[1] who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting during this temporary government.

And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory:[2] to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory[2] and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ART. 1st. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.[3]

ART. 2d. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law.[4] All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences,

[1] Since the residents of the Northwest Territory were to be *taxed* by the Continental Congress, it was seen that they should be *represented* in it.

[2] The ideal of government set up by the Ordinance of 1787 was that every new colony or territory should, as soon as possible, be brought into the Union, possessing perfect equality with the original thirteen states. No lawgivers in all history before this time had been able to frame a government in which the children born into the family were speedily and voluntarily elevated to entire equality with the mother state.

[3] The struggle for religious freedom had been growing ever stronger since the opening of the Reformation, but this is the first time in history when a government had set up absolute freedom of religious worship for all its people. Compare with U. S. Const., Amendment I.

[4] Compare with Magna Charta, 36, 39, and 40; Petition of Right, 7; Bill of Rights, 10, 11, 12; and complaint in Declaration of Independence that the king had deprived the colonists of the benefit of trial by jury.

where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and without fraud, previously formed.[1]

Art. 3d. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.[2] The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Art. 4th. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto.[3] The inhabitants and settlers in the

[1] The immediate cause of many of these provisions was the disquiet of the country, as shown by Shays's Rebellion, trade discords between states, and the like, which grew very distressing during the loose eight years of the Articles of Confederation.

[2] The first recognition, after the Revolution was over, that public education is the duty of the state. This provision by the immediate influence which it had upon public education in the Northwest Territory, and by the example it set for other territories and states in developing their educational systems, has been one of the most powerful factors in developing American free institutions.

[3] This section expresses the ideal of government set up by the Revolution: taxation accompanied by full participation.

said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States ; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty, therefor.

Art. 5th. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States ; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit : The Western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers ; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's, due North, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada ; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincent's, to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due North from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The Eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line :

Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies North of an East and West line drawn through the Southerly bend or extreme of lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided,* the constitution and government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than 60,000.

Art. 6th. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted:[1] *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby, repealed and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

[1] Slaves residing in the Northwest Territory when this Ordinance was passed, could be held as slaves as long as they lived, but slavery as a permanent institution in the Northwest was made impossible by this provision. "This Article" (the 6th) was the greatest blow struck for freedom and against slavery in all our history, save only Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, for it determined that in the final struggle the mighty West should side with the right against the wrong. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West,* Vol. 3, p. 258.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

"The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

This statement of Mr. Gladstone, while expressing a great truth, is not literally true; the Constitution of the United States (apart from its centuries of growth from the Witangemot down through many centuries of English history), was the product of a slow colonial growth in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, down to the time of its adoption in a written constitution in 1788.

The great problem for our Fathers in working out the Constitution was to balance the power of government between the nation and the states, — as, for example, the power to regulate commerce, control slavery, raise and spend taxes, make internal improvements, establish banks, etc. The first convention leading directly to our present Constitution met at Alexandria, Maryland, in 1786, and sought to bring about united action in regard to the regulation of commerce on Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River. The necessity of having all the states agree to rules of trade for the entire country was seen by such men as Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, and through their influence another convention was called at Annapolis in the same year (1786), for the purpose of discussing trade matters. Not much was done here but to call the convention, which met in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787. This convention, composed of the greatest men of the time, held its sessions with closed doors, and by much compromise wrote the Constitution of the United States. It was so wisely drawn, and the interests of all sections and occupations were so carefully balanced, as to lead statesmen of modern times to regard it as the world's greatest written constitution.

Most of the convention of fifty-five delegates signed the Constitution, and it was then sent to the Congress of the Confederation, who in turn sent it to the individual states. The states called special conventions, in which to ratify it, and when as many as nine had accepted it, it then became binding upon those nine states. This was accomplished by June, 1788, and the Constitution went into effect March 4, 1789.

PREAMBLE [1]

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT [2]

Section I. Congress in General

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II. House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[1] Compare the Preamble with Articles of Confederation I and III.
[2] Compare Art. I, Secs. 1–7, with Articles of Confederation, V.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned[1] among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III. Senate

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.[3]

[1] Since the enfranchisement of the negro, and the passage of the 14th Amendment (1868), this clause has been greatly changed.

[2] The contest by the states for power in Congress, which was decided by giving them equal representation in the Senate and representation in proportion to population in the House of Representatives, led to the first great compromise in the United States Constitution. Agreeing to count three fifths of the slaves when making up the number of representatives allowed in Congress from each state, instead of all of them, as the South desired, was the second great compromise of the Constitution.

[3] The continuous and unbroken life of the Senate, the length of term of senators, the age required to become a senator, and the joint power of the Senate with the President, in making treaties and choosing the officers of the national government, has made the United States Senate one of the

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.[1]

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

most dignified, conservative, wise, and powerful legislative and administrative bodies in all history. Compare the United State Senate in organization, purpose, and influence, with the Continental Congress; with the present English House of Lords. See p. 144 for present power of House of Lords.

[1] Compare this provision with Art. II, Sec. 4. These two provisions set forth the third function of the Senate, — that of judge in trying political offenses against the national government, leaving ordinary crimes and civil offenses to be tried in the regular courts.

Section IV. The Houses Jointly

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.[1]

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.[2]

Section V. The Houses Separately

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members,[3] and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.[4]

[1] The framers of the Constitution made a duplex form of government; that is, one in which the governmental machinery of the nation aids in carrying out the work of the states, and in which the governmental machinery of the states assists in carrying forward the work of the nation. Thus both state and nation, both central government and local government, are absolutely essential to our existence under our present Constitution.

[2] The legislature is one of the chief instruments by which the *people* guard their liberties and fight their battles; hence the long struggle which the Anglo-Saxon race has made for a legislature and for its frequent assembling. Compare with Bill of Rights, 13, Articles of Confederation, V, and Ordinance of 1787 providing for the organization of a legislature.

[3] This provision regarding elections grew out of the practice in England in determining those legally chosen to Parliament. Since 1868 such cases in England are settled entirely in the courts.

[4] This makes it possible to have a permanent record made of Congressional proceedings, and of the votes of members on important questions arising. This publicity, in turn, renders the congressman more careful, conscientious, and responsible to the body of people whom he represents.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.[1]

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII. Method of Passing Laws

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.[2]

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their

[1] This provision is for the purpose of securing free parliamentary discussion. To secure it had cost great struggles in English history, in the American colonies, and in the American nation itself when the question of free discussion arose concerning slavery. See Bill of Rights, 9; Articles of Confederation, V.

[2] It was desired by this provision to keep the power of taxation as nearly in the hands of the *people* as possible. Since the Senate may amend the bills as it chooses, and often does greatly change the bills presented by the House, this provision has not had the result the framers intended.

journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII. Powers given to Congress

1. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;[1]

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

[1] Compare power here granted to raise money with power granted in Articles of Confederation, VIII. Clause 1, first part of clause 3, and clause 18 of this section, and the Preamble to the United States Constitution have furnished ground for vast discussion over the extent of power granted to the national government by the Constitution, and thus have become to a large extent the constitutional basis of political parties in the United States.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;[1]

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all

[1] Very many of the clauses in Section 8 are rooted very deeply in English history; for example, regarding uniform weights and measures, see Magna Charta, 35; regarding the necessity for frequent meetings of the legislature, compare Bill of Rights, 13, with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 12.

other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX. Powers denied to the United States

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.[1]

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.[2]

3. No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law shall be passed.[3]

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

[1] By this clause the shipping of negro slaves into the United States was legally continued for twenty years after the Constitution was formed. Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 3, gives Congress power "to regulate commerce." The slave interests feared that Congress would immediately cut off slave commerce when the national government was organized (1789), unless it was prevented by the Constitution from doing so; hence this provision. This compromise concerning the regulation of commerce, including foreign commerce in slaves, constitutes the third great compromise of the Constitution.

[2] Art. I, Sec. 9, cl. 2 and 3, taken together with amendments to the United States Constitution, I–VIII, grew directly from Magna Charta. They expanded through the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Ordinance of 1787, and are not only firmly rooted in the Constitution of the United States, but likewise form the framework and life principles of a bill of rights in every state constitution in the American nation.

[3] A bill of attainder is a law passed by a legislature corrupting the blood of a criminal guilty of treason or other capital crime. The effect of attainder upon the attainted person is, in general terms, that all his property of every kind is forfeited and his blood is corrupted so that nothing can pass either to him or be inherited from him because of this corruption. Such laws were passed extensively in early English history, in some American colonial history, considerably during the passionate experiences of the Revolutionary War, but were entirely prohibited by the Constitution.

An *ex post facto* law is one made to punish an act committed before the existence of such a law, and which had not been declared criminal when the act was committed. For example, persons were often hanged for acts of treason in England, which at the time the acts were done were not in violation of any law.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.[1]

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States:[2] and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section X. Powers denied to the States[3]

No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another

[1] This provision grew out of the long and stubborn struggle of the Anglo-Saxon race to place the power of raising taxes and appropriating money in the hands of the people.

[2] Compare with U. S. Const., Art. I, Sec. 10, cl. 1. Also with Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal" (meaning equal before the law).

[3] One of the greatest problems the framers of the Constitution had before them was to give a wise proportion of power to the national government and yet leave an adequate amount of power in the hands of the people and of the states.

State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT [1]

Section I. President and Vice President

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves.[2] And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a

[1] Compare U.S. Const., Art. II, with Articles of Confederation, X.
[2] Altered by the 12th Amendment.

quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.][1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

[1] The Electoral College, which was intended by the framers of the Constitution to be perfectly free and untrammeled in the choice of President and Vice President, has had all independent action taken from it by the development of the National Nominating Convention.

Section II. Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States;[1] he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law:[2] but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

[1] While the powers of the king in recent centuries has steadily decreased in England, the power of the President of the United States has as steadily increased. England has gathered her supreme governing power into a single department of government, — the legislative, — while the United States has watched with the most jealous care that the powers of government in America should be divided among three departments, — the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; and also that no department of government should dominate any other, but that each should act freely as far as possible, and as a check upon the others when necessary. Notwithstanding this aim of the American government to keep the three departments in mutual balance, it sometimes occurs that one department very much overbalances the others; for example, the President may involve the whole country in war without the consent of Congress, as was the case in the declaration of the Mexican War by President Polk (1845).

[2] The actual appointing power of the President gives the office great power and dignity. All appointments to office in England, though in name made by the king, are in *reality* made by the English cabinet.

Section III. Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper;[1] he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV. Impeachment of President, Vice President, etc.

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT[2]

Section I. United States Courts

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court,[3] and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

[1] Compare the power of the President to adjourn Congress with the arbitrary power exercised by the king of England in proroguing and dissolving both Parliament and the colonial legislatures. See Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence for examples of complaints.

[2] The Articles of Confederation made no such provision as Art. III, U. S. Const., to set up a permanent, independent system of courts. It is Art. III of the Constitution, perhaps more than any other one, which has given stamina and "backbone" to the United States government.

[3] Note that the Supreme Court of the United States, being set up by the Constitution itself and not by Congress, is thus rendered independent and powerful. Compare with the absolute dependence of the national courts upon the Continental Congress, Articles of Confederation, IX.

Section II. Extent of Authority of the United States Courts

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.[1]

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III. Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

[1] The last part of cl. 1, Sec. 2, Art. III, has been altered by the 11th Amendment (ratified in 1798). Since this amendment was passed, it has been impossible to sue a state in the United States courts. This in turn has caused several states to refuse to pay their debts, and to escape punishment therefor.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. THE STATES AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT[1]

Section I. State Records

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II. Privileges of Citizens. Fugitives from Justice. Fugitives from Slavery

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. [No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.][2]

Section III. Expansion. New States and Territories

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ;[3] but no new State shall be formed or erected

[1] Compare Art. IV, U. S. Const., with IV, Articles of Confederation.

[2] The intense and bitter feeling which sprang up between the North and South (1831–1860) over the execution of this provision regarding the return of fugitive slaves who had escaped from their masters, was one chief cause of the Civil War.

[3] Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, West Virginia, so constituted by consent.

within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section IV. National Guarantee to the States

1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.[1]

ARTICLE V. POWER OF AMENDMENT[2]

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention

[1] The forces of the national government have been repeatedly called into service to repress insurrections and control strikes.

[2] The strength and perpetuity of a nation depend upon its growth and change; and one of the chief methods by which a written constitution (of which the United States Constitution is the greatest example of all history) grows and changes, is by *amendment*. In a free republic, however, in which there is freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and almost universal right to vote, it is the most natural thing that the people of the nation should be *divided* in their views upon the great questions which arise in the development of their history; and, taking into consideration each one's opportunity to think and act for himself, *it is but natural that the people should divide*, from time to time, *into parties of comparatively equal size*. But the United States Constitution provides that, even to *propose* an amendment, *two thirds* of Congress, or two thirds of the states, shall say they favor it; and to *ratify* the amendment, *three fourths* of the states, acting either in state legislatures or in special conventions, shall say they *agree* to it. As already said, to secure such a large majority, on one side or the other, in this country, has been very difficult. Of about seventeen hundred amendments proposed to the Constitution, but fifteen have passed. Compare Art. V, U. S. Const., with XIII, Articles of Confederation.

for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. PUBLIC DEBT. NATIONAL SUPREMACY. OATH OF OFFICE. RELIGIOUS TEST

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.[1]

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

[1] Compare U. S. Const., Art. VI, cl. 1, with Articles of Confederation, XII. Also U. S. Const., Art. VI, cl. 2 and 3, with Ordinance of 1787, Art. I (guaranteeing religious freedom). Also U. S. Const., Art. VI, cl. 2 and 3, with Articles of Confederation, XIII. Clause 2 of Art. VI, U. S. Const., has been very effective in sustaining the strength and dignity of the national government throughout its entire history, and especially at times when secession has been attempted.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.[1]

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON
President, and Deputy from Virginia

NEW HAMPSHIRE. John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
MASSACHUSETTS. Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
CONNECTICUT. William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
NEW YORK. Alexander Hamilton.
NEW JERSEY. William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.
PENNSYLVANIA. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.
DELAWARE. George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
MARYLAND. James M'Henry, Daniel [of St. Thomas] Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
VIRGINIA. John Blair, James Madison, Jr.
NORTH CAROLINA. William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
SOUTH CAROLINA. John Rutledge, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
GEORGIA. William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*

[1] In order to render the Constitution more nearly the product of the *people* as a nation rather than that of the *states*, it was ratified, not by state legislatures, as were the Articles of Confederation, but by special conventions called in the several states for the express purpose of ratification. In passing ordinances of secession (1861) the Southern states attempted to leave the Union by retracing the exact steps, through state conventions, which they had taken when originally ratifying the Constitution.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION[1]

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[1] The first ten amendments is a second "Bill of Rights," growing out of that persistent struggle for political, industrial, civil, and religious freedom, which is as old, bold, and fearless as the Anglo-Saxon race itself. Thus these amendments did not spring entirely from American soil; their roots were much deeper. Their real growth was through many centuries and over vast fields reaching from the German woods to the yet vaster woods of America. What James Bryce said of the Constitution of the United States as a whole may be said in an especial sense of these amendments: "They are no exception to the rule that everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring is it likely to prove." "There is little in the American Constitution which is absolutely new. There is much which is as old as Magna Charta."

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X[1]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI[2]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII[3]

SECTION 1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of

[1] Compare the 10th Amendment, U. S. Const., with II, Articles of Confederation. The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress, September 25, 1789, and declared in force December 15, 1791.

[2] Proposed by Congress, March 5, 1794; declared in force January 8, 1798. This amendment lessened the power of the national over the state governments.

[3] Proposed by Congress, December 12, 1803, and declared in force September 25, 1804. This provision is to prevent ties, deadlocks, and contested elections, when choosing the President and Vice President.

those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

SECTION 2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII[1]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV[2]

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

[1] Proposed by Congress, February 1, 1865; declared in force December 18, 1865. This article completed the work of freeing the slaves begun by Lincoln, 1863. Compare with Ordinance of 1787, Art. VI.

[2] Proposed by Congress, June 16, 1866, and declared in force July 28, 1868.

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President, Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV[1]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed by Congress February 26, 1869; declared in force March 30, 1870. Although the right of suffrage is regulated by the states, Article XV attempts to secure to the emancipated negro race the right to vote.

INDEX

Acropolis, 56
Adams, Samuel, 179, 185
Agrigentum, defeat of Carthage, 76
Alexander the Great, youth, 60; education, 60; as king, 60; as conqueror, 60; results of his conquests, 48, 61–63
Alexandria, 62
Alfred the Great, king of England, 122
Alien and Sedition Laws, 207
America. See *Spanish colonies*, *French colonies*, and *English colonies*, *in*. See also *United States*
Anglo-Saxon, 3, 120
Anne, queen of England, 145
Architecture, Greek, 56
Aristides, 55, 58
Aristotle, 57, 61, 91
Armada, defeat of, 169
Articles of Confederation, 181, 182, 228, 301–314
Aryans, progress, 1–3; location, 11, 13, 14, 22; religion, 13, 14, 21, 25; primitive culture, 14–21; in agricultural stage, 22–28; expansion, 27
Asia Minor, Greek cities in, 54
Athena, 56
Athens, burned by Persians, 55; growth, 56; art, 56
Augustus Cæsar, 81, 87

Babylonia, contribution to history, 63
Baltimore, Lord, 174
Bank, the United States, 202–204, 220
Bill of Rights, 120, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 179, 289–294
Burgoyne, 180
Burke, Edmund, 146, 179

Cabinet, the English, 146
Cabot, John, 169
Cæsar, Julius, 80
Calhoun, John C., quotations from speeches, 197–200; 235
Calvin, John, 149
Cannæ, battle of, 78
Caravans, 41
Carthage, commerce, 76; government, 76; religion, 76; colonies, 76; struggle with Rome, 76–79
Cato, 80
Charlemagne, 89, 98
Charles I, king of England, 141
Chivalry, ideals, 99; effects, 100
Christianity, 2; early, 91; adopted by Roman Empire, 91; development of organization, 92; spread, 92; persecutions, 92
Cincinnatus, 73
Civil War, the United States, geographical influences, 248; theaters of, 249; factors determining, 249; causes, 250; resources of the North and the South, 251–253; decisive factors, 254
Clay, Henry, 197, 200, 235
Commons, House of, 145
Compass, 41
Constantine, 81
Constitution, of the United States, 140, 141, 159, 172; written, 180; adoption, 183; provisions, 183; and slavery, 228; amendments, 258; document, 324–348
Crœsus, 54
Cromwell, Oliver, 141

Crusades, causes, 107; routes, 108; results, 108–112
Cuneiform writing, 43
Cyrus, 54

Darius, 54
Davis, Jefferson, 246, 255
Declaration of Independence, 140, 159, 172, 179, 294–300
Delian League, 55
Divine Right of Kings, the theory, 134; overthrow, 145; in the American colonies, 178
Dred Scott Decision, 241, 243

Egypt, people, 3; geography, 33; religion, 33, 34; civilization, 33; veneration for king, 34; temples, 35; slavery in, 35; farm life, 35; school life, 35; treatment of the dead, 35; sculpture, 36; pyramids, 36; contribution to history, 33, 63
Elizabeth, queen of England, 119; reign of, 142
Embargo Act, of 1808, 195
England, physical conditions, 117; periods of history, 119; institutions of Anglo-Saxons, 120; under the Normans, 122; growth of trade, 125; struggle for self-government, 128–130; growth of her power, 130; local government, 135; under the Stuarts, 137–141; mastery of sea, 169, 193
English colonies in America, background, 169; environment, 170; industries, 171; government, 171–173; religion, 173; education, 175; social life among, 176; struggle for self-government, 179; Revolution, 179
Erasmus, 149
Erie Canal, 219
Expansion, westward, 216–219

Feudalism, 97; lack of national life under, 98
Florida, purchase by the United States, 212
Forum, Roman, 72
Fox, George, 174
France, in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 193
Franklin, Benjamin, 185
French colonies in America, European background, 165; location, 166; geographical conditions, 166; industry, 166; government, 165, 167; religion, 167; education, 168; social life, 168; comparison with English colonies, 177; overthrow, 208
Fugitive Slave Law, 242

George I, king of England, 145
George III, king of England, relations to the American colonies, 178
Gladstone, William Ewart, 146
Gracchi, the, 80
Greece, geography, 49, 51; climate, 50; soil, 50; fauna and flora, 51
Greeks, 3; four stages in their development, 48; home life, 52; industrial life, 53; religion, 53; early history, 53–55; in age of Pericles, 55–59; government, 58; education, 56–58; social life, 58; in time of Alexander the Great, 59–61; contribution to history, 63

Habeas Corpus, writ of, 137
Hamilcar Barca, 77
Hamilton, Alexander, 185
Hamite, 1
Hannibal, education, 77; march, 77
Hebrews, 3; geography of country, 36; religion, 37, 39; history, 37; commercial life, 38; home life, 38; school life, 38; contribution to history, 63
Henry, Patrick, 179
History, unity in, 150; freedom, the goal of, 151
Homeric Age, 54

Italy, geography, 70–72

Jackson, Andrew, 212
Jefferson, Thomas, 179, 184, 208, 210
Jerusalem, 38, 92
Jews. See *Hebrews*
John, king of England, 119
Jury, trial by, 129; education through, 137

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 241

Lewis and Clark's expedition, 209
Lincoln, Abraham, speech before Republican State Convention, 244; first Inaugural Address, 245; political views, 255; work, 256
Louisiana, purchase, 208–211; question of slavery in, 232
Luther, Martin, 146, 149

Macedonia, under Philip II, 60; career of Alexander the Great, 60
Magna Charta, 119, 126–128, 137, 140, 144, 179, 267–280
Manorial system, 124
Marathon, battle of, 54
Marius, 80
Mason and Dixon's line, 230
Medici, Lorenzo de, 114
Messina, defeat of Carthage, 76
Michael Angelo, 114
Miltiades, 55
Mississippi, the, 217
Missouri Compromise, 231, 234
Monasticism, 93–97
Monroe Doctrine, 214

Napoleon I, Bonaparte, rise to power, 193; plan of empire in America, 208
National Road, 219
Nullification, the argument for and against, 222–225

Olympic games, 54, 59
Omnibus Bill, 234, 235, 242
Ordinance of 1787, 172, 182, 228, 314–323

Palestine, geography, 36, 38
Papyrus paper, 93
Paris, Treaty of, 159
Parliament, definition, 130; development of, 130, 134, 142; power, 141; procedure, 143
Parthenon, 56
Patricians, 73
Peloponnesian War, 58
Penn, William, 174
Pericles, 56, 58
Persia, size, 54; government, 54; conflict with Greece, 54
Petition of Right, 120, 137, 140, 144, 180, 280–289
Phalanx, Macedonian, 60
Philip, king of Macedonia, 60
Phœnicia, geography, 39, 40
Phœnicians, 3; trade and commerce, 40; religion, 42; contribution to history, 63
Pickering, Thomas, 196
Pitt, William, 146, 179
Plato, 57, 91
Plebeians, 73, 75
Portugal, master of the sea, 192
Printing, invention of, 115
Propylæa, 56
Punic War, First, 76; Second, 76; results, 79
Puritans, 174
Pyramids, 36

Quebec, battle of, 159, 177
Quincy, Josiah, 197

Raphael, 114
Reconstruction, beginnings, 256; economic and political problems of, 257; lessons, 258
Reformation, definition of, 96, 146; relation of, to Renaissance, 146; growth of sects during, 148; leaders, 149
Regulus, 76
Renaissance, defined, 112; causes of, 112; effect of, on learning, 113; the revival of art, 114; inventions, 116; relation of, to Reformation, 146
Revolution, American, 159, 179

Rome, people, 3, 72; outline of history, 69; contribution to history, 69; early history, 72–75; expansion, 75; struggle with Carthage, 76–79; conquest of East, 79; fall of Republic, 80; an empire, 81, 97; fall of empire, 89; center of Church, 92
Romulus, 72

Sabines, 72
St. Benedict, 96
St. Dominic, 96
St. Dunstan, 122
St. Francis, 96
Salamis, battle of, 55
Sardis, 54
Semite, 1, 3
Settlement, Act of, 145
Sibylline Books, 72
Sicily, 76
Sidon, 40
Slavery, ancient and mediæval, 225; beginnings of modern, 226; the slave trade, 227; abolition of, 228; national and state control, 228; in public territory, 229; balance of power between, and freedom, 230; expansion of, in Southwest, 232; questions pertaining to, 234; national control of, 240
Socrates, 57
Solomon's temple, 39
Spain, master of sea, 192
Spanish colonies in America, environment, 160; government, 160; religion, 161; industry, 162; education, 163; social life among, 163; effect of, in New World, 164; expansion of, 211, 214
Sulla, 80

Tarquins, Rome under the, 72
Teutons, 3; outline of history, 87; early home, 88; village life, 88; institutions, 89; religion, 90; social life, 90; conversion to Christianity, 92; love of freedom among, 97; life in the castle, 97; feudalism among, 98; effects of chivalry, 99; position of women, 100; triumph of ideas of government, 144
Thermistocles, 55, 58
Thermopylæ, battle of, 55
Trajan, 81
Twelve Tables, the, 72
Tyre, 40

United States, commerce, 194; War of 1812, causes and results, 195; finance, 201–204; Congress, 204, 230; 231; Alien and Sedition Laws, 205; the President of the, 206; growth of local government, 206; political parties in, 207; westward expansion, 208–212, 216–219; struggle between Roman and Teutonic principles, 212; manufactures, 220; tariff, 221; slavery, 226; development of North, 233; sectionalism, 234–240; Civil War, 248–256; reconstruction, 258; intellectual and social advance in, 259; as a world power, 260

Valley Forge, 180
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 207

Washington, George, 179, 185
Webster, Daniel, debate with Hayne, 223, 235
William I, the Conqueror, 119; reign, 122
William III, king of England, 145, 146
Williams, Roger, 174
Writing, development of art, 42

Xerxes, 55

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